



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-126  
Friday  
29 June 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-*AFR*-90-126

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## Cameroon

### Biya Says Multiparty System To Come Soon

AB2806174190 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 28 Jun 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] The congress of Cameroon's ruling party, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement [CPDM], got under way today with an opening speech by President Paul Biya. The question being asked is: Will this be the party's last congress as Cameroon's only party? Winds of change are blowing, opposition parties are trying to form, so far unsuccessfully, and top people are calling for a change to a multiparty system in Cameroon, and it seems some people are listening. From Yaounde, (Vincent Sax) telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] In his speech to the congress this afternoon, President Biya announced that multipartyism will come soon to Cameroon. He told the more than 1,000 party officials to be prepared because they will have rivals soon.

President Biya was loudly cheered when he also announced that there will be more freedom for the press and that the law on association of 1967 will be reviewed to give people more freedom. He also announced the abolition of the presidential decree on which the lawyer, Mr. Yondo Black, was jailed for three years recently.

President Biya also announced the setting up of a commission for human rights and the abolition of all travel restrictions to all Cameroonians. There will also be major economic and social changes. Mr. Biya was loudly cheered after delivering his speech.

According to observers, Cameroon will have multipartyism within months, probably before the end of the year. It is also believed that Mr. Yondo Black will be freed soon. [end recording]

## Chad

### Habre Returns From Franco-African Summit

AB2806163590 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpt] The 16th Franco-African summit ended at La Baule, France yesterday. More than 30 heads of state or their representatives took part in this meeting. Economic and mostly political issues marked this 16th summit at La Baule. The next summit will be held in Libreville, Gabon, in two years.

President Hissain Habre, who represented our country at this summit returned to Ndjamenat this afternoon. The head of state was welcomed at Ndjamenat international airport by State Minister Djidingar Dono Ngardoum,

who was accompanied by several other government officials, Army officers, and diplomats accredited to the Republic of Chad.

Economic and political issues concerning African countries were discussed at length by the heads of state of African countries and France. At the economic level, the debt of African countries and the current crisis on the continent were the major issues discussed by Francois Mitterrand, the French head of state and host of this 16th summit.

At the political level, many African leaders and the French head of state did not agree on how democracy should be established in African countries. The West wants to impose immediate democracy in Africa, which is very risky in view of the sociopolitical realities of some of our states. The [words indistinct] also prompted indignation from many African leaders.

Despite everything, the Franco-African summit ended at La Baule. The next summit will be held in Libreville, Gabon, in 1992. [passage omitted]

### Habre Receives Angolan Envoy, Leaves for PRC

AB2806165190 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpt] At the invitation of the president of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Yang Shangkun, His Excellency El Haj Hissain Habre, president of the Republic, and his wife, will pay an official visit to the People's Republic of China from 26 June to 1 July, 1990.

The head of state is accompanied on this visit by Foreign Minister Acheik ibn Oumar; Information and Civic Orientation Minister Adoum Moussa Seif; Planning and Cooperation Minister Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh; Tourism and Environment Minister Lossimian Naim-baye; the under secretary of the president, Mr. Ahmed Moussa Ly; Mr. (Lirou Mbah), president of the Chadian Chamber of Commerce, industry and agriculture, and member of the central committee of the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR]; and Adoum Yacoub, special adviser at the presidency.

Before flying to China, El Haj Hissain Habre, early this afternoon received the Angolan ambassador to Chad with residence in Lagos, who brought a message from his head of state, Jose Eduardo dos Santos to his Chadian counterpart. [passage omitted]

### \* Baheou, Tamboule Discuss Conflict With Habre

90AF0220A Cotonou LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE  
(International Edition) in French 16-31 May 90 pp 5-6

[Interview with Telero G. Baheou and Issa Moussa Tamboule, former information ministers in GUNT government, by Marcus B. Teiga and Felix M. N'pienikoua; date, place not given: "We Must Establish Pluralistic Democracy in Chad"]



[Text] After several years of murderous war, the Chadian opposition is still alive, despite the timid efforts at reconciliation undertaken by the Hissein Habre government. LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE has interviewed Telero G. Baheou and Issa Tamboule, former ministers of information in the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government], to get their views on the Chadian problem.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Would you like to introduce yourself to our readers?

[Baheou] I am one of the leaders of the Chadian opposition. I held several positions of responsibility in the government before becoming minister of information in the GUNT. In 1983 I was secretary of state for foreign affairs in the GUNT, and in 1985 held the position of deputy secretary general. From 1986 to 1988, information was my ministerial portfolio. It was only later, during the GUNT's internal wrangling, that I resigned that position in order to support Goukouni Wedeye. I was a member of the opposition's foreign affairs commission until last year, when I came to see my family in exile in Cotonou. Since then, I have been in limbo due to the internal contradictions in the renovated GUNT.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] What is the difference between the GUNT, the Neo-GUNT and the renovated GUNT?

[Baheou] The GUNT is a compromise government that was created by all of Chad's neighbors and the OAU [Organization of African Unity] following a meeting of all the Chadian factions at Lagos (Nigeria) in 1979. As you know, there were bloody battles in Ndjamenia on 12 February of that year. These reflected the regional and religious nature of the conflict. And that is why the OAU worked, with the help of the neighboring countries, to set up the GUNT. In principle, this compromise government should have made it possible for Chadians to resolve their internal problems within 18 months and hold free elections. But it did not turn out that way because certain people got thirsty for power. In March 1980, then-defense minister Hissein Habre, now president, was rejected by the other factions that rallied behind Goukouni Wedeye. The OAU continued to mediate between the Ndjamenia regime and Hissein Habre, who wanted nothing to do with reconciliation. He seized Ndjamenia by force, driving the GUNT into exile. Its leaders regrouped at Bardai in the Tibesti, and Libya gave them a home. We tried to continue the fight, in fact occupying more than half of Chad's territory, above the 16th parallel. But our efforts were thwarted by external intervention. I am speaking of France and the United States, which provided arms and technicians to Hissein Habre. Zaire also gave its support. As for the GUNT, it got assistance from Libya. The demarcation of the 16th parallel further complicated the struggle, since we could no longer cross it to attack Hissein Habre's men, and vice versa. Because of [the GUNT's] internal contradictions, the Libyans sided with one faction, the Revolutionary Democratic Council (CDR) headed by Acheikh ibn Oumar. Goukouni was wounded, there was a vacuum, and the various remaining factions met in Cotonou in

December 1986 to try to set up a neo-GUNT, the leadership of which was entrusted provisionally to Acheikh ibn Oumar, pending Goukouni's recovery from his injury. We did not coin the term neo-GUNT; that was done by the press.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] How, and from what country, did Hissein Habre organize the resistance that finally forced the GUNT out of Chad?

[Baheou] Your question is a good one. Hissein Habre left for Sudan as fast as he could. He departed Ndjamenia and established his base at Darfour, in the Sudan. It was Egypt's financial and military assistance that he succeeded in returning to power.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Why are the authorities in Ndjamenia today publicly urging the people of Sudan to overthrow their leaders?

[Baheou] Even if that were to happen today, it would not solve the Chadian problem. As soon as the OAS and international community realized Chad was a problem, I thought we were going to have to look elsewhere for a solution. What we need now is to establish a democratic government so Chadians can choose their destiny freely. Two years after independence, former President Tombalbaye established a one-party system by suppressing all the other parties. Hissein Habre, as history records, took up arms against the Tombalbaye regime, which had suppressed the other parties in favor of his own party.

When FROLINAT [Chadian National Liberation Front] came to power, the first thing it should have done was rectify the wrong that originally led it to take up arms. But when it goes even further in the wrong direction, it is futile to dump the matter in the laps of neighboring countries. I know that certain neighboring countries, if only because they have allied themselves with other tribes in Chad, are obliged to accept Chadian opponents into their territory. I would like for the Chadian authorities to take a fresh look at things, to make an appeal to the entire opposition, with the OAU and even the United Nations as witnesses. Then the Chadian opposition could return to Ndjamenia to organize a national conference, as in Benin or Gabon. I hope the authorities in Chad may be inspired by this resolve, and once we Chadians have restored peace, no other country will attack Chad. Chadian opposition groups need a minimum of liberty and democracy if they are to return. But launching an appeal against Al Bachir or Qadhdhafi does not solve the problem. In other words, I inveigh against them because they are saber-rattlers. They want to create a state of war, because that will enable them to stay in power as long as possible. But the result is extermination of the indigenous population. The proof is in the casualty figures: there has not been a single foreign fatality, not American, French, Libyan, or Sudanese.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Concretely, what does the exile opposition have against President Hissein Habre's regime?

[Baheou] Under OAU auspices, we have worked since 1984 in Addis Ababa for a reconciliation with the de facto regime in Ndjamen. Hissein Habre, the current president, has refused to budge. The conference on Chadian reconciliation held in Addis Ababa in January 1984 failed for this reason. We made another effort to meet with him that year in October in Brazzaville. Things looked very hopeful until Hissein Habre telephoned his then-foreign minister, Gouara Lassou, and told him that continuing the parley was out of the question. We had already reached an understanding: all that remained was to set up two commissions—one for the opposition and one for the government—to draw up the plan for national reconciliation. But then Hissein Habre spoiled everything.

Of course, when one goes to war, it is in order to come to power; but it is not the representatives of the 20-odd factions that will be president. We must establish pluralistic democracy, because the lack of multipartyism is what has occasioned decades of war. And Hissein Habre is in a better position than anyone else to know that. No one can give him lessons in democracy: he was the first to demand it. And that is what the opposition is now demanding of the current government.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] As a member of the opposition who has benefited from Libyan support, what do you think about your country's protracted conflict with Libya over the Aouzou Strip?

[Baheou] I am a Chadian, and if a part of Chadian territory should be occupied somehow or by a neighboring country, I cannot make a gift of that territory to such a country. But the problem with the Aouzou Strip goes back a long time. Libya has occupied the Aouzou Strip since 1973. At that time, Hissein Habre was in opposition in Tibesti. I am giving a little of the history here: every Chadian knows it is the truth, even if someone wants to call me a liar. Both Hissein Habre and Goukouni were there when the Chadian National Army evacuated the Aouzou Strip to fall back to Bardai, where there was a stronger garrison. It was then that Hissein Habre and others asked the Libyans to establish themselves in the Aouzou Strip in order to supply them with arms and munitions to combat the Tombalbaye regime. The Libyans came; we were outsmarted: they occupied our territory. Did they ask the Libyans to come occupy the Aouzou Strip permanently? I do not think so. But there must have been something, before the Libyans came in to establish themselves. All the governments tried in vain to resolve the problem. We will resolve the problem, when we are all back in Chad with a viable government, democratically elected by the people. Then we are going to demand our rights, and our Libyan brothers will be forced to get out of our territory. So long as there are Chadians in Libya soliciting arms to fight the de facto government, the problem is not conducive to a solution. Once the Chadians are reunited, all their neighbors will have to show them respect. But currently we are divided, we are weakened, and any of our neighbors can amuse themselves by occupying part of our territory.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] What does the opposition plan to do to restore the faith and hopes of their Chadian brethren ravaged by the war?

[Baheou] We in the opposition are in the process of trying to unite ourselves under a single directorate in order to call on the OAU and the international community to help us resolve the Chadian problem in a peaceful manner. We are not "saber-rattlers," because Chad has not been invaded by a foreign power or a neighboring country. We are going to bury the hatchet and solve our problems through debate, through political dialogue. Once we have achieved unity, we are going to launch appeals to the OAU, the international community and neighboring countries that have recently gone through a "perestroika" experience, if I may use that term, in order to resolve our problems peacefully.

#### **Tamboule: 'If Hissein Rejects Dialogue, He Will End Like Ceausescu'**

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Tell us about yourself.

[Tamboule] I am the second vice president of the Eastern Armed Forces (3d Army). This is a movement that was created almost 19 years ago. I held important responsible GUNT positions. First of all as group commander, then as commander of operations; finally I served on the Supreme Council of the Revolution, among other things as the GUNT's minister of information.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Why is your faction fighting Hissein Habre?

[Tamboule] The situation in Chad is that FROLINAT rejoined the ranks of the opposition once the Habre regime was installed. We undertook an armed struggle and we succeeded in occupying more than half the nation's territory. But weakness resulting from the dissension that existed inside the GUNT soon made it impossible for us to continue resisting the Northern Armed Forces (FAN).

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Who is your enemy?

[Tamboule] In fact, we don't have an enemy, just an adversary: the man who is currently in power in Ndjamen. It is true that we are all Chadians; however, we have divergent points of view. We are our own worst enemy, in other words the problem is that we have made enemies of each other. Intransigence on various sides has prevented us from reaching an understanding, so we persist in fighting each other. The main enemy of all the people is colonialism, the arms merchants. As for Hissein, his main enemy is still Libya. In my opinion, he helped create this state of affairs by forcing out his brothers, who were picked up by Libya.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] What is the truth about your ties to Libya?

[Tamboule] We were on very good terms with Libya, which gave us considerable aid. But at a certain point, Libya sided with one political faction and tried to

impose Acheikh ibn Oumar, Chad's current minister of external relations, as the leader of our several organizations. We refused categorically. As a result, our relations have been very cool for some time.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] What is your current strategy?

[Tamboule] Our movement is currently headed by Moussa M. Maman Seib, who is in Paris. As far as we are concerned, our strategy consists first of all in reuniting all the factions opposed to the current regime in Ndjamena, so we can form a solid bloc to demand a national conference like the one held in Benin. That will make it possible to hold a meeting to discuss the future of our country. Otherwise, we would be constrained to return to the armed struggle if the regime will not engage in dialogue. Of course, that is not a good solution, but our hand could be forced. If Hussein Habre rejects dialogue, he will end like Ceaucescu.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] How will you conduct your relations with Libya in future, if the Aouzou Strip remains in dispute?

[Tamboule] The Aouzou Strip is an affair between the late President Tombalbaye of Chad and Qadhdhafi of Libya. But there is no document to prove it was sold to Libya. Thus we will not be in accord with Qadhdhafi if he ultimately refuses to return our territory to us. If he forces war on us, so be it. If not, we will engage in a dialogue.

[LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE] Were preconditions attached to the Libyan assistance you received?

[Tamboule] No! Libya's aid is unselfish. It is not something that can be bought. It is aid from one revolutionary to another. Of course, the Libyans are not candid about their aid. I don't know what they really want...

### Gabon

#### **MORENA Continues Congress; Policy Set**

AB2806193790 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] The first regular congress of the MORENA-Bucherons [National Recovery Movement—

Lumberjacks], which opened this morning in Libreville, continues its deliberations. This is the first time an opposition party has held a congress since the establishment of the multiparty system in Gabon last April. Helene Lembanaka reports on the first day of the MORENA congress:

[Lembanaka] In all, nearly 2,000 militants turned up for the first regular congress convened by this Gabonese opposition party. The Steering Committee activity report was presented by Mr. Jules (Mbadikari). This report reflects, among others, the desire to render effective the multiparty system established in Gabon as an outcome of the national conference. The other congress delegates of the Lumberjacks movement followed the same line in their statements which basically constitutes an appeal for mobilization to realize the objectives of their party, guided by the philosophy of nonviolence advocated by the party leader Father Paul Mba-Abassole:

[Begin Mba-Abassole recording] The basic philosophy of our political party is nonviolence, with all due deference to those who defend other ideologies, which, we are certain, can only lead to deadlocks. Our nonviolence is original. Our first demonstration was peaceful. During that demonstration, no one advocated violence or the looting of shops, as we have seen lately. No one uttered a word of insult, or a personal attack on the president of the republic or on any of his ministers. This demonstrates all the signs of our profound commitment to nonviolence.

At the same time, however, we have always firmly stated our determination to fight for change in the direction of the political democratization of our country. [end recording]

Father Paul Mba-Abassole, therefore, calls for nonviolence as a means to achieve aims, and opposes state intervention in the economic sphere.

[Begin Mba-Abassole recording] We stand for a free enterprise economic system with diversified and decentralized decisionmaking. Trade must be rid of controls. Prices must be liberalized to take account of the law of supply and demand. Care should be taken to avoid raising taxes to the point that they paralyze firms. [end recording]

## Djibouti

### Border With Ethiopia Closed Until 28 July

EA2706222590 Djibouti Domestic Service in Somalia  
1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] While the border between the Republic of Djibouti and Somalia has remained closed since (?2 May 1989), the border crossing point between Djibouti and Ethiopia has been closed effective today until 0600 on 28 July 1990. Although the border crossing point between the Republic of Djibouti and Ethiopia will be reopened on that day, the border crossing point between the Somalia and the Republic of Djibouti will remain closed. A circular to this effect has been issued by the Government of Djibouti. Those violating the directive will be prosecuted under the law of the land. The minister of interior, posts, and communications, and the national defense minister have been directed to ensure that the contents of the circular are implemented.

## Uganda

### PRC Economic Delegation Arrives for Visit

EA2706215590 Kampala Domestic Service in English  
1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] A five-man Chinese economic delegation, led by the Chinese assistant minister for foreign economic relations and trade, Mr. Wang Wendong, has arrived in Uganda for a five-day official visit. Receiving the delegation at Entebbe International Airport, the deputy minister of foreign and regional affairs, Mr. Bart Katu-reebe, said that Uganda and China enjoy close relations and hoped the discussions will be fruitful.

The leader of the delegation, Mr. Wang Wendong, said that the government and people of China value the good relations existing between Uganda and China and said the recent visit by President Museveni to China was a new chapter in China-Uganda relations. He said his visit is a follow-up of the discussions held during President Museveni's recent visit to China.

The Chinese ambassador to Uganda, Mr. Xie Youkun, was also present to receive the delegates.

During their stay in Uganda, the members of the delegation will meet and hold official talks with top government officials and visit Kibimba rice scheme, the rayon textile mill, (?Mususu) cannery, and a number of other places in the Ugandan industrial town of Jinja.

### Talks Begin 27 June

EA2806130090 Kampala Domestic Service in English  
1400 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Talks between the Ugandan Government officials and members of the visiting Chinese economic delegation have opened in Kampala. The Uganda Government team was led by the minister of planning and economic development, Mayanja-Nkangi, and the Chinese side by the leader of the delegation and assistant minister of foreign economic relations and trade, Mr. Wang Wendong.

Speaking at the opening of the talks at Sheraton Hotel this morning, Mr. Mayanja-Nkangi expressed satisfaction with the longstanding cooperation between Uganda and China. He noted that Uganda enjoys good cooperation with China in a wide range of areas, which include agriculture and fishing.

Speaking at a dinner hosted by the minister of state for foreign and regional affairs, Professor Kabwegyere, last night at the Sheraton Hotel, the assistant Chinese minister of foreign economic relations and trade, Mr. Wang, said China will continue expanding and exploring new fields of technical cooperation with other Third World countries for positive contribution to South-South cooperation with other Third World countries for positive contribution to South-South cooperation. On bilateral cooperation between Uganda and China, Mr. Wang said the government and people of China are happy that the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government is committed to bring about tribal harmony, national security, and improvement of the country's economy.

Professor Kabwegyere disclosed that during the visit of the delegation the two countries will sign an agreement for the provision of goods worth \$1 million to Uganda. He disclosed that last year Uganda received an interest-free loan of \$5 million to rehabilitate a rice scheme and an ice plant project. Another \$50 million interest-free loan, he said, had been approved by the Chinese Government for the construction of a new national sports stadium at Nambol near Kampala. He pledged Uganda's commitment to execute the projects undertaken by the two countries for the benefit of the people of Uganda.



**Concluded Session of Parliament 'Most Important'***MB2306143090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1600 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Excerpt] This year's parliamentary session, widely regarded as the most important in South Africa's history, ended late this afternoon. Our political news staff reports that the session was marked by far-reaching measures such as the repeal of legislation seen by both the government and extraparliamentary bodies as obstacles to negotiations.

The session was opened on 2 February by the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, with a crucial speech in which he announced the legalizing of the ANC [African National Congress] and other restricted organizations. The deputy president of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, was released soon afterwards.

These steps paved the way for the first meeting between the government and the ANC at the Groote Schuur estate in May, at which the foundation was laid for real negotiation. The lifting of the state of emergency, except in Natal, was also announced during the session.

Our political news staff reports that a record number of 143 motions were tabled during the session, 121 of which were accepted. No legislation was referred to the President's Council for ideological reasons.

Parliament is due to reconvene on 1 February next year. The motion to go into recess was opposed by both the Conservative Party [CP] and the Democratic Party [DP] in the House of Assembly. Our staff reports that the parliamentary recess is likely to see emphasis on the formulation and refinement of constitutional proposals to set the scene for major negotiations likely to take place early next year. The CP and the DP have opposed the motion in the House of Assembly that the House go into recess until 1 February next year. The Cape leader of the CP, Mr. Jan Hoon, said his party's motion censuring the government should be debated before the recess. He asked the government to indicate how it meant to deal with the squatter problem and labor unrest.

In reply to a question whether his party would ban trade unions, Mr. Hoon said that when the CP was in power and whites had their own area, black trade unions would not be permitted in that area.

Referring to reports of an alleged plot against the lives of certain politicians, Mr. Hoon said the CP did not intend to overthrow the government by violence but to defeat it at the polling booth. [passage omitted]

**De Klerk Meets With Democratic Leaders 28 June***MB2806180790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1556 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria, June 28, SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] leadership held "thorough and very helpful" talks with State President Mr. F.W. de Klerk in Pretoria on Thursday [28 June] DP parliamentary leader Dr. Zach de Beer told SAPA.

The DP was represented by Dr. de Beer and his two colleagues in the leadership troika, Dr. Denis Worrall and Mr. Wynand Malan. Deliberations between the DP politicians and Mr. de Klerk were "concerned with the negotiation process," Dr. de Beer said. "I hope that as a result, we can play an even more constructive role in the process," he added, declining to elaborate. His colleagues would issue similar statements, he said after the meeting in Mr. de Klerk's Union Building offices.

The meeting is the fourth that Mr. de Klerk has held this week with prominent groups in South African politician and business circles. On Tuesday the state president met a joint delegation from the South African [SA] Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, Congress of SA Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions.

That same day he received representatives of four ultra-rightwing organisations and on Thursday morning, a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business. The state president's office was not immediately available for comment.

**De Klerk Says Police Do Not Deserve 'Animosity'***MB2906103090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 29 Jun 90*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says there is no reason for any one to accuse the police of having repressive power, and see it as anything other than the friend and protector of the community that it is.

President de Klerk was speaking at a passing out parade at the police training college at Hammanskraal, where he called on all South Africans to support the police in their efforts to create a climate of peace and order in this country. He said the police had not earned the animosity that was often directed at them. President de Klerk called on the different political groups and their leaders to convince their followers to act with restraint and responsibility toward the police.

**FRG Cabinet Minister Warnke Arrives 26 June***MB2606075690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0750 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Pretoria June 26 SAPA—The first West German cabinet minister to officially visit South Africa in 12 years has brought a message of praise for government reform initiatives and a strong anti-sanctions plea.

The West German minister of economic cooperation and development, Dr. Juergen Warnke arrived at Jan Smuts Airport near Johannesburg on Tuesday [26 June], accompanied by aides and about 20 German journalists.

Dr. Warnke, a Christian Social Union representative in the Bundestag, will spend two days in the country, during which he meets Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha and Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis in Pretoria on Tuesday. "We welcome the determination of the (South African) government to bring apartheid to an end. Once the dam has broken, there is a tendency for surprising speed (to reach a negotiated settlement)," he told reporters at the airport.

His visit was taking place against the background of the European Community's summit of heads of government, who would discuss the question of punitive sanctions against South Africa. The West German Government, Dr. Warnke said, had never believed in sanctions as a means of effecting policy changes, but was bound to follow the common line of other European states. "I have made it clear that for future development and co-operation there is a contradiction where development funds are put to work, but financial checks are applied at the same time. It is like having one foot on the gas and one foot on the brake."

He hoped the international community would see the kind of irreversible political progress being made in South Africa which would justify the lifting of sanctions. While not wishing to draw a parallel between events in East Germany and South Africa, development was taking place at a speed which was previously not possible to imagine, and he would welcome a "quick decision" on the part of the South African Government to end apartheid.

He understood African National Congress [ANC] fears regarding the lifting of sanctions, but had recently told ANC Deputy President Mr. Nelson Mandela it would be impossible to convince governments of donor communities to apply funds while sanctions remained in force.

"I hope a speedy development gives South Africa the chance to become part of the southern part of the continent, whose economic and social evolution in the 1990's is a cause for great concern in the international community," said Dr. Warnke.

"I see the solution in the gradual lifting of sanctions as the government taking firm steps to end apartheid. The South African criterium is that of irreversibility of this development—which, of course, is a question of judgment."

Development cooperation could only succeed if the correct internal framework existed. This presupposed private business growth and, externally, South Africa's relationship with its neighbours.

His mission to South Africa included assessing the chance of a future southern Africa based on cooperation,

and not confrontation. "The magnitude of the task is beyond the reach of the Republic of South Africa alone—if powerful and full economic growth is to be considered, the international community must start planning for the post-apartheid period," he said. South Africa had been an essential player in ending civil regional conflicts in Mozambique and Angola since the 1980's.

#### **Japanese To Maintain Investment Sanctions**

*MB2606110790 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] The Japanese Government says it has no plans to lift investment sanctions against South Africa.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Taizo Watanabe told a news conference it was not yet time to change Japan's policy. He said his government is increasing exchanges with Pretoria in order to keep a close watch on the situation. Watanabe says Japan is watching for further developments such as the lifting of the emergency in Natal and the beginning of talks between the government and the ANC [African National Congress].

South African Foreign Affairs Department's head, Neil van Heerden, has been visiting Japan this week, briefing government officials on the changes taking place in South Africa. Japan is South Africa's second largest trading partner after West Germany, but investments and cultural exchanges are not allowed.

#### **Democrat De Beer Comments on De Klerk Policy**

*MB2706122590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1204 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Johannesburg June 27 SAPA—The "new South Africa"—the phrase publicised by State President F.W. de Klerk—was inspiring and should not be belittled, Democratic Party co-leader Dr. Zach de Beer said on Wednesday [27 June]. He told a breakfast club meeting in Johannesburg right-wing parties like the Conservative Party [CP] were abusing the "inspiring phrase."

"The CP never refers to a strike, or a squatter camp, or a township riot or a crime wave without saying sarcastically, this is the new South Africa." He said this was unfair because incidents of violence were unavoidable in any changing society. Dr. de Beer said he appreciated the that President de Klerk supported universal suffrage. He believed the white majority was behind the process of change.

Even if that was not the case, he said, no general election was due before 1994 and he knew the state president had every intention of instituting the new constitution before then.



### ANC's Stand on Armed Struggle Discussed

MB2706165090 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1100 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] In recent months, Western governments have begun insisting that African countries wanting aid should show a commitment to nonviolence and democracy. This is now also emerging as a condition for support to political movements in South Africa, as the ANC [African National Congress] discovered this week.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, was told by the American assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen, that the ANC would not qualify for aid until it renounced violence. President Bush also made use of a meeting with Mr. Mandela to call on the ANC to renounce the use of violence and the armed struggle, and he said the United States Government would support only those South Africans who sought, through nonviolent means, democracy, human rights and freedom.

That is the crux of the dilemma now facing the ANC and other organizations. Until now, the ANC has insisted that, although it seeks a democratic solution in South Africa, it would continue to use the method of its armed struggle. It now finds that, for the United States Government and other democratic Western countries, this is an unacceptable contradiction. It will have to choose between democracy or violence. As far as democrats are concerned, the two cannot go together.

Although there is much admiration for Mr. Mandela in the United States, more and more Americans are asking whether his organization is truly committed to democracy. The fact that he has praised people like Colonel Qadhafi of Libya, a man well known in Africa for his use of violence against opponents, has raised questions about where Mr. Mandela himself stands.

This is an issue that has been raised more often as Americans consider requests for aid from African governments and political leaders. Providing such aid will increasingly be determined by whether there is a genuine commitment to peaceful, democratic processes.

### Buthelezi Comments on Mandela, Bush Discussions

MB2706174090 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has commented on discussions between Nelson Mandela and U.S. President George Bush. Carmel Rickard has the details.

[Begin Rickard recording] Buthelezi has appealed to the leadership of the ANC [African National Congress] to stop personal attacks on him and get down to what he calls the hard work of helping the suffering people in Natal. He says he wants the violence to stop and is prepared to talk, but he asks: Is the ANC?

Buthelezi was commenting on Mandela's briefing to Bush during which he said that Inkatha and the ANC should sit round the negotiating table for talks and that there could be no solution of the Natal problems without the Inkatha leader. Buthelezi said in his response that he had personally informed Mandela that his door was open to him for talks day or night and that they could meet at any neutrally acceptable venue.

He also said he hopes that the ANC would now permit such talks to take place instead of being a stumbling block as in the past. [end recording]

### Zulu Chief: ANC Seeks To Kill Black Policemen

MB2906115690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0000 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Ulundi, June 29, SAPA—KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a passing out parade of students at the police training college in Ulundi on Thursday it was the African National Congress [ANC] stated policy to kill every black policeman. Speaking as kwaZulu police minister he said this was an ANC instruction broadcast to the people, a statement from his Ulundi office said.

The ANC had no comment on the speech. "The ANC would not like to comment at all," internal spokesman Mr. Ahmed Kathrada said on Thursday night.

Referring to an ANC campaign next week aimed at forcing, amongst other things, the disbandment of the kwaZulu Police, Chief Buthelezi said "these things will never happen." He said black people would not be free to choose whether to attend work or not during the ANC's week of action. In every major strike for political purposes workers had been battered into doing what strike organisers wanted them to do, he claimed. He called on the 286 graduating police students to protect and make friends with people.

He described as "tragic" the ANC's commitment to armed struggle, saying it was "not just words" he was talking about. "I am talking about caches of explosives and killing weapons hidden away in all sorts of places in SA [South Africa]." South African revolutionaries were no different to revolutionaries anywhere else in the world, he said. They were not in the habit of laying down their arms and beating their spears into ploughshares.

"That is why the revolutionaries did not heed Dr. (Nelson) Mandela's voice when he told people to throw their guns, knives and pangas [knives] into the sea."

### Buthelezi Comment on ANC Organization, KwaZulu

MB2906090490 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0700 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the ANC [African National Congress] has the right to organize in kwaZulu, but he has criticized the organization

on the grounds that it is threatening people who will not join up. Carmel Rickard reports

[Rickard] ANC southern Natal convener, Terror Lekota wrote to Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier this week, asking whether the ANC was still banned in kwaZulu. Lekota told me he asked this question in view of treatment being experienced by ANC supporters in the region at the hands of kwaZulu government and Inkatha officials.

In his reply last night, Buthelezi said kwaZulu does not have separate powers to ban or unban organizations. Once the ANC was unbanned by Pretoria, it became unbanned in kwaZulu.

In a separate news statement, Buthelezi described the letter as a propaganda exercise and criticized the ANC for the methods it was using to canvas support in the region. He said there were numerous examples of people being threatened and killed if they would not join the ANC.

#### **Slovo: SACP Supports Regulated Market Economy**

*MB2806181690 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1500 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] The secretary general of the South African Communist Party [SACP], Mr. Joe Slovo, says the party is not blindly committed to the concept of nationalization and that it supports a mixed economy.

Speaking at a news conference, Mr. Slovo said the transfer of private ownership to the state did not in itself bring about any fundamental economic changes nor is it necessarily justified in all areas.

Mr. Slovo said the SACP supported a regulated market economy and envisaged a mixed economy in the so-called new South Africa in which private, domestic, and foreign capital would be welcomed.

#### **Press Reviews on Current Problems, Issues**

**28 June**

*MB2806124090*

[Editorial Report]

#### **THE STAR**

ANC, Government Approve EC Announcement—"When, for different reasons, both Pik Botha and Chris Hani acclaim the European Community's announcement on South African sanctions, the man in the street is entitled to feel a little confused," observes the Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 June in a page 22 editorial. The government and the African National Congress [ANC] interpret the wording in a different. "Neither Mr. Botha nor his opponents has it entirely wrong, however. Officially, sanctions on trade and

investment remain." "Unofficially, sanctions will gradually erode as long as President de Klerk manages to keep channels of communication open to the ANC leadership."

Winnie Mandela Should 'Cool It'—"Astute politician that he is, Nelson Mandela is pussyfooting his way through the media minefields of America, largely without mishap and seemingly oblivious to the series of background explosions detonated by wife Winnie," states THE STAR in a second editorial on the same page. "In a renaissance of her old fiery ways, belying the demure image of recent months, Mrs. Mandela has taken to forceful, emotional oratory which evokes an enthusiastic, response everywhere she goes. Trouble is, the louder the applause, the more she seemingly gets carried away by her own passion. As a result, at times her utterances become extravagant and, putting it mildly, undiplomatic. Her threat to 'go back to the bush', if necessary, to fight the whites might meet with scepticism back home, considering that her days as guerilla fighter have gone unchronicled." "Worse, and totally unacceptable, was Mrs. Mandela's assertion that black schools were a legitimate military target. Mr. Mandela would do himself, the ANC and his country a service if he borrowed a phrase from his U.S. hosts and advised his wife to cool it."

De Klerk Maintains Energetic Schedule—"A good part of President de Klerk's time—in an energetic work schedule—seems to be spent pulling irons out of the fire for his less go-ahead colleagues," declares a third 28 June STAR editorial on page 6. A recent meeting with labor representatives "helped to defuse, but not resolve, the touchy" situation. He also met with rightists, "not to mend fences but to delineate them." "That this time the rightists came away grumbling can be seen as a measure of Mr. de Klerk's firmness."

#### **BUSINESS DAY**

De Klerk Needs Team Assistance—The Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 28 June states in a page 8 editorial: "If President de Klerk is not to be left to solve this country's problems single-handedly, he will need more help." Such is his credibility at the moment, "that when people are in real difficulty they turn to him. They do not always get what they want, as black trade unionists found this week, but his willingness to see all aspects of a problem, and his ability to come up with firm proposals are winning him increasing respect." "But he will become overburdened unless others share the load." "Almost every cabinet portfolio now involves issues which fringe on coming negotiations, requiring delicate handling, sensible compromise or rapid intervention to put things right. It requires team work, and President de Klerk's load in the recess may include finding some new team members."

#### **THE DAILY MAIL**

Thatcher EC Comments Questioned—"British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher can't be accused of mincing

words but after the European Community summit in Dublin, it is fair to ask whether she isn't jumbling them up a bit," notes the Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 28 June in a page 8 editorial. She wanted the EC to give de Klerk "practical and immediate encouragement," but urged that Gorbachev "not receive an economic lifeline, because his commitment to reform was still in doubt." "May we ask what Thatcher thinks de Klerk has done that Gorbachev hasn't? Neither has come close to achieving functioning multi-party democracy, but if she can laud the risks De Klerk has taken, she must surely accept the gravity of Gorbachev's initiatives."

### SOWETAN

Government Should Develop Economic Potential—"The important lesson from the current gold crisis is that it is dangerous for any economy to depend so heavily on one commodity," declares the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 June in a page 6 editorial. "It is cold comfort that Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals this week assured investors that the bank would support the metal's price if it dipped too low. The Government has no alternative: The metal is not only the major earner of foreign exchange, but the gold mining industry employs hundreds of thousands of workers." "This grim story is another indictment against the country's apartheid policies. Manufacturing failed to develop as it should because the Government hounded blacks out of this sector in urban areas." "South Africa must now seriously consider developing the secondary sector. Our natural resources and human potential must now be properly used."

29 June

MB2906130090

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

State Must Restrain Black, White 'Transgressors'—"Because of its desire to create a climate for negotiation, the government will not clamp down on Umkhonto we Sizwe [spear of the nation; ANC military wing] under the security laws still available to them," notes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 28 June in its page 6 editorial. This encourages "the people who attack the police and other officials to continue their foul deeds," and "encourages the extreme right among whites to engage in their own brand of terrorism." "Open defiance is meanwhile being expressed by the leaders of organisations forming Boere commandos and Boere armies and training supposedly for the day blacks take over the country. They make no bones about their militarism—and they make no bones about their hatred of the government and its reforms." The government "must clamp down on both black and white transgressors."

### THE STAR

Stayaway War Declaration on Inkatha—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 June believes the ANC-approved national stayaway called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has "one central aim," and says in a page 14 editorial it is "to topple Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi." The demands that the kwaZulu police be disbanded and Inkatha "warlords" arrested "amount to a declaration of war." "The campaign by the ANC-COSATU alliance to isolate Chief Buthelezi is calculated to drive him into a corner where he will have no option but to submit or fight. He is nothing if not a tenacious fighter. He will resist fiercely, with possibly terrible results for the strife-torn black people of Natal-kwaZulu."

### BUSINESS DAY

'Specious' Grounds for Natal Stayaway Call—The grounds for the COSATU and ANC call for a national stayaway against the violence in Natal "are specious," declares Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 29 June in a page 8 editorial. "The call looks more like an attempt to warm up the political climate." There is scope for confrontation because the proposed stayaway is not being supported by the Pan-Africanist Congress and the National Council of Trade Unions who say they were not consulted about it.

### NEW NATION

EC Sanctions Decision Welcome—Although Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 29 Jun-5 Jul understands an economy "devasted by sanctions takes long to repair and that investment will not be easily attracted to this country," it says in its page 6 editorial it would be "criminal to lose sight of the cause of this burden: the apartheid system, which is still in place." "How can the same system which benefits by oppressing us, speak on our behalf when it comes to sanctions? We believe that the United States and the European Community have taken the right decision to continue with sanctions until apartheid is totally abolished."

### THE WEEKLY MAIL

Security Forces Still Wield Repressive Powers—"The detention this week of unionist Shirley Gunn is a timely reminder of the range and arbitrariness of repressive powers still wielded by the security forces," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English on 29 June. Gunn was accused by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok of involvement in the blast which destroyed Khotso House in 1988, but Vlok has "produced no credible motive linking Gunn to the blast." Gunn is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act which THE DAILY MAIL contrasts with the "treatment of 11 rightwingers implicated



in a plot to assassinate Nelson Mandela, F. W. de Klerk and others. They were held under the Criminal Law Procedures Act which limits the length of time for which a suspect can be held and grants the prisoner important rights."

**Dilemma of Present Government System**—Steven Friedman points out in his "Worm's Eye" column on the same page the government "now says that the system it rules will have to go and that another will have to be negotiated. But it also insists that the present order must be governed and defended against mass action until a new one is in place." "It risks disorder if it defends the outgoing system—and if it doesn't. But, while resistance movements might enjoy that dilemma, they may be equally threatened by it. Because the government has an interest in maintaining control through the transition, it could clamp down rather than allow the boycotts to continue. If it did, boycotters might be unable to control the consequences." Therefore, the best way to gain from this dilemma might be to "allow the present system to continue, but to demand to negotiate the terms under which it does."

#### CAPE TIMES

**NP Information Campaign Welcome**—The National Party's (NP) announcement that it is to step up its "information" campaign is welcomed by Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 27 June in a page 8 editorial. CAPE TIMES notes that until now the NP has "seemed remarkably reluctant to go out to its supporters to explain the government's new strategies and approach. Instead, while Nationalist MP's protected themselves from public scrutiny by concentrating on the proceedings of Parliament, the right wing have had a field day trying to mobilise white opinion against reform and negotiations. It seemed as if the bulk of the NP was quite happy to rely on Mr. De Klerk and television to market its new policies" but that "has not been enough."

**Winnie Mandela Pronouncements 'Liability'**—Winnie Mandela is "not contributing" toward the climate of reconciliation in South Africa by "shooting, verbally, from the hip at every opportunity during her American tour," affirms a second editorial on the same page. Her "ill-considered pronouncements" could become a "liability to the ANC's own cause."

#### TRANSVALER

**Mandela Visit Chance for Black Americans' 'Resuscitation'**—"The Mandela circus in the United States also experiences its moments of truth," notes Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 27 June in a page 10 editorial. "The first of which has become apparent to the sober observer; the whole affair is nothing but a resuscitation opportunity for the black Americans." Mandela's visit has allowed "this minority group" to place itself in the "foreground." "From a South African perspective there is greater significance in the other truth of Mr.

Mandela's visit; that despite the black caucus' pressure President Bush has not altered his view on the ANC violence option."

#### DIE BURGER

**ANC's 'Blatant Double Talk'**—"The utterances of Mr. Nelson Mandela in Boston on Saturday [23 June] were another telling example of the blatant double talk of which the deputy leader of the ANC has been guilty since his release earlier this year," remarks Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 26 June in a page 14 editorial. "It evidently has not passed him by that disinvestment and large-scale unemployment in the country were just some of the disadvantageous consequences of the sanctions campaign against South Africa. But, is it not ironic that this wisdom should come from Mr. Mandela himself?" "It was he and like-minded people who were among the leading sanction campaigners against South Africa." "It is time that Mr. Mandela and other ANC spokesmen think seriously about their actions," because "they cannot have their bread buttered on both sides."

#### BEELD

**ANC Threats To Impose Will**—"Soon after Mrs. Winnie Mandela threatened to return to the bush if negotiations fail, the ANC said President F.W. de Klerk's attitude toward far right wing groups can seriously threaten negotiations," remarks Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 27 June in a page 14 editorial. "This last warning was made just before the state president's talks yesterday with far rightists. It appears the ANC wants to impose its will through threats. Who and what is the ANC to determine with whom there will or will not be talks? We thought discussions with everyone was the key to a peaceful future."

**Little Concrete Results From Mandela Tour of U.S.**—"Once all the praise and standing ovations have died down, Mr. Mandela and the ANC should ask themselves what has been the concrete result of the United States visit," says Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 28 June in a page 10 editorial. "If they are honest, they will admit that, figuratively speaking, they do not have much in the bank." One will sympathize if they ask: "Why then all the applause if they don't even qualify for a meagre 10 million dollars? The answer is simple: the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle. Add to this serious suspicion about his economic philosophies and Mr. Mandela's curious remarks about the PLO, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, and Fidel Castro's Cuba." BEELD believes Mandela must do "precisely the opposite of what he has done in the United States. He must harness his formidable talents—unknown international status and respectability—to establish the world's confidence in South Africa's economic and political stability now and in the future."

**\* Experts Debate Land Reform Issue****\* Land Tenure**

34000745 Johannesburg *BLACK ENTERPRISE*  
in English May 90 pp 19-20

[Text] Access to agricultural land is one of the more crucial challenges facing the building of a new South Africa. It is an issue that has received scant attention so far, and it will undoubtedly be high on the agenda when real negotiations begin. Therefore the issues should be examined sooner rather than later.

The following statements on land tenure and considerations for land reform in a "new South Africa" are part of a research project being undertaken by Professor Julius Jeppe of the University of Stellenbosch. A similar document is being submitted to leaders and knowledgeable persons over a wide spectrum of disciplines, interests and political persuasions in southern Africa to obtain a cross-section of opinion on the matter.

Black Enterprise readers who wish to contribute their thoughts, experiences and opinions for consideration by Professor Jeppe in terms of the research project may write to The Editor, Land Reform Project, c/o Black Enterprise, P.O. Box 91845 Auckland Park 2006.

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. Publication of the results of this research project will analyze only principles and general schools of thinking.

**Rural Land in a New Economy**

Access to agricultural land for all South Africans in a new economy is a most challenging aspect on the reform agenda.

Because of historical developments and legislative enactments, e.g. the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966, the black Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, access to agricultural land in South Africa, outside the "black states" and "colored reserves", is almost exclusively reserved for whites.

**Socio-Political Considerations for Land Reform**

As a result of the very inequitable access to agricultural land in South Africa, land reform is unavoidably part of the process for the creation of a "new South Africa". Certain important socio-political considerations in this respect are:

(a) Equality: Since land reform is redistributive and reduces inequality, it could be a major contribution to a "new economy."

(b) Basic Right: The opportunity to own land by way of free access to land rights for all citizens is regarded as a basic right in a free and democratic society.

(c) Liberty and Democracy: The political values of liberty and democracy are dependent upon the basic right of free access to land for all citizens.

(d) Order and Stability: Inequality of land rights has proved to be a major source of social conflict and instability in many countries.

(e) Vested Interests: To obtain acceptance of land reform by the present farming community and thereby to ensure order and stability, is of major socio-political importance, as well as to prevent disruption of agricultural production.

(f) Development: Land reform can diminish inefficient and traditional patterns of land utilization and create opportunities for an enlarged agricultural middle-class further enhancing the ideals of equality, democracy, order and stability.

**Socio-Economic Considerations for Land Reform**

A few salient socio-economic considerations for a process of land reform should be borne in mind:

(a) Employment: Given the large proportion of blacks (roughly 65 percent) dependent on agriculture, and the relative capital-intensiveness of job creation in industry, the creation of additional employment opportunities in agriculture is a major concern with land reform.

(b) Labor Absorption: The possibilities of agriculture absorbing more labor on smaller and medium-sized private farms with more labor-intensive techniques may be achieved with land reform.

(c) Agricultural Land: Only about 15 percent of agricultural land in South Africa is suitable for cultivation and optimal use of such land is therefore most important, which should not be threatened by land reform.

(d) Food Production: Production of food to feed the population and for agricultural exports (roughly 20 percent) are major socio-economic considerations. Agricultural production and efficiency should thus be maintained and enhanced with a process of land reform.

(e) Capital Costs: The estimated capital requirements of commercial farming units, including the value of land, was estimated at roughly R700 000 on aggregate in 1988, which could be reduced with land reforms in favor of smaller economic private (family) farms in suitable agricultural regions.

(f) Rural Development: For land reform to be successful it must be implemented within the context of a program for rural development, including for example provision of credit facilities, marketing support, rural oriented education, rural settlement schemes, economic diversification, etc.

(g) "Tribal Land": The so-called "tribal", "traditional" or "communal" land tenure system in the "black

states" pose unique problems, e.g., being socio-politically intertwined with the tribal system and chieftaincy, production on tribal lands being extremely poor and this land being severely over-utilized. Land reform of tribal lands thus offers separate and unique challenges which should however also be considered within the larger Southern African context.

(h) "Colored Reserves": The so-called "colored reserves" pose a number of challenges, e.g., population density, over-utilization, agricultural inefficiency, etc. similar to but also different from the above-mentioned "tribal land".

#### Land Reform Measures

Land reform essentially means changes in ownership and control of land—changes in the ownership of wealth and changes in the management of wealth.

The major issues with land reform are basically twofold, viz. land acquisitions and tenure reorganization.

(a) Land Acquisition options include one or more of the following:

(i) Repealing the Group Areas Acts and Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and entrusting the process to market operation over time.

(ii) State assistance or state intervention in different ways to promote land acquisition by landless/disadvantaged farmers, e.g., relocation of state land, directly assisting these farmers to obtain land, state agricultural projects for agricultural settlement, state purchases of agricultural land for projects, state expropriation with or without compensation of certain categories of land for resale of occupation by small farmers, nationalization of farm land and settlement on state farms, etc.

(iii) Market-based adjustments of land tenure with state and/or private sector "affirmative action" type assistance in favor of landless/disadvantaged farmers, e.g., by means of "rural foundations", rural ownership farming projects, irrigation projects such as the Vaalharts scheme, etc.

(b) Tenure Reorganization is the second salient issue with land reform, i.e., the kinds of land tenure in the reformed agriculture for example:

(i) Large, medium and smaller private (family) farms operating as economic units by owners and tenants, based upon free-enterprise and market operation.

(ii) Group farming by cooperatives and/or collectives which are socialist or communalist alternatives.

(iii) State-farms with state employed agricultural workers which is the "pure socialist" alternative.

(iv) Tenure reorganization with a combination of two or more of the above types of land tenure.

#### \* Comprehensive Plan Viewed

34000745 Johannesburg *BLACK ENTERPRISE*  
in English May 90 pp 22-23, 62

[Article by Philip J. Lloyd]

[Text] Land reform in South Africa is a crucial issue, and in this article Dr Philip Lloyd sets out a comprehensive plan to redistribute land, maintain or even increase agricultural productivity, improve the chances of those moving to the cities, and strengthen our currency.

Dr Lloyd is a prominent engineer and scientist with a wide range of interests. Educated at UCT [University of Cape Town] and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he has worked for the Atomic Energy Board, the Chamber of Mines, Murray & Roberts and Edward L. Bateman. He has been President of the SA [South African] Institute of Chemical Engineers, the Federation of Societies of Professional Engineers, and the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies (AS & TS). His Presidential address to AS & TS led him into the study of land Reform in South Africa.

Under the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, land was set aside in trust for what was then seen as the "native" population. Today that land which comprises some 17 million hectares out of a total of nearly 120 million hectares is split up among the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankula, Kangwane, Kwandebile, QwaQwa and Moutse. The rural population has 0,2 ha of arable land and 1,3 ha of other farmland per capita, whereas in the rest of South Africa there are 2,9 ha of arable land and 12,4 ha of other farmland per capita of rural population.

As a result, the trust lands cannot feed the population thrust upon them, and the environmental stress is considerable.

All sides agree that this situation cannot continue. However, there is no clear path forward. There is pressure to increase the area made available or to redistribute all land. I believe there is a further option which deserves study.

#### Private Ownership

Many societies have faced the problem of land reform in the face of population pressure. They have found the practical route forward to be breaking away from the concept of communally held land, and creating private ownership. This may be the point at which we should start in South Africa.

The first steps in such a process would be to survey the land properly. To establish title to land requires knowing just what land is covered by the title. At present, for instance, it is very difficult to obtain a mortgage to erect a home in the trust lands because there is usually no security of tenure. With the advent of modern aerial survey technology, a preliminary survey adequate for this purpose would be rapid.



The second step would be to establish precisely who had claim on the land. This would be a mammoth task, because many city dwellers have traditional rights, not formally established, while records of displaced people currently thrust upon local authorities in many of the trust lands are totally inadequate. However, it is a task which must be done.

#### **Land Allocation**

The third step would be to allocate land to the identified claimants. A fair basis for doing so would need to be established, and this in itself would be a major local political problem, but not one which would prove insuperable.

The final step would be to establish a method by which the land rights of individuals could be exchanged. That mechanism could be straight cash, but I believe this goes against the whole spirit in which the trust lands were established, and would immediately create "land barons". Instead I would suggest that a national value be placed on land, say for example, R2,000 per ha of arable land and R500 per ha of other farmland. Further, that exchange of land rights be restricted to those within a limited local area, much as shares in many private companies can only be sold to other existing shareholders.

Finally, that cash would not be exchanged as part of such land rights swaps within the trust lands, but that the "seller" would have a right only to use such "sale" as a basis to acquire land elsewhere, in an urban region if he should so desire.

I believe the result of this would be a rationalization of land holdings in the trust lands, and a speeding up of the process of urbanization, but with the important difference from the present pattern, in that those coming to the cities would have a capital base. Their sale of a land right could then be used as security to acquire urban property.

#### **Housing Bank**

There would need to be a "Housing Bank", a sort of national building society, to finance the eventual cost of transferring a rural right into real estate elsewhere. However, this cost should be tolerable to our society—

using the values given above, the average dweller transferring would bring over R1,000 in capital, or perhaps R4,000 per family, which would be adequate to establish economic housing in an urban environment, or to finance the purchase of farmland elsewhere.

The "Housing Bank" would require about R11 billion, which spread over 5 years, would be a small fraction of our national budget.

#### **Orderly Reform**

The net result would be an orderly reform of farming practice in the present trust lands, with only those wishing to remain part of the agricultural economy actually doing so. Those wishing to farm in the present "white" areas would have a means to purchase land, and history indicates that those who purchase land treat it more responsibly than those who are merely granted land, which should in some measure alleviate white fears of decimation of land by black farmers.

Such people also need to be reminded that at the end of the last Century and during the first decade of this, black farmers in the Free State and Lesotho fed the Transvaal very successfully.

Further, it would result in a far more orderly urbanization process than is presently the case. We need to find a way around the shack communities springing up round our major cities. If those communities were able to sacrifice their "safety net" of rural rights for cash, shacks would become the exception, not the rule.

#### **Land and the Currency**

The concept of arbitrarily putting value to land is not new, in 1928, Germany's Finance Minister Schach, faced by raging inflation which had reduced the value of the old Mark to 6,3 billion per US Dollar, invented the Deutsch Mark, of which there were only as many as there were square meters of land are in what was then Germany.

Confidence was established in the new currency, which apart from the aberrations of 1939-45, has rarely looked back. Perhaps giving value to the area covered by the Land Acts will similarly re-establish the Rand as a currency of value!

## Angola

### UNITA's Savimbi Meets With Mobutu in Kinshasa

MB2806172890 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] A leader of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, said he is ready to hold direct talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to try to end the 15-year civil war.

Dr. Savimbi was addressing newsmen after talks in Kinshasa with President Mobutu of Zaire, one of the major mediators in the peace initiative. Dr. Savimbi said his meeting with President Mobutu, organized by Portugal, had given him the opportunity to make contact with the Zairian leader, whom he regarded as the main mediator in Angolan peace moves.

Negotiations between the UNITA movement and the Luanda government were suspended last week in Lisbon after UNITA recalled its delegates for consultation. The Luanda government has been backing Portuguese mediation, accusing President Mobutu of supporting UNITA.

President dos Santos has said his government and UNITA delegates would meet again in Lisbon early next month for a third round of peace talks this year.

Earlier, Dr. Savimbi called for a break in the fighting in drought-stricken Angola so that food and medical supplies could be conveyed to millions of starving people. In a letter sent to the United States and the Soviet heads of state, Dr. Savimbi asked for the establishment of a joint relief effort in Angola similar to the one that they had promised to undertake in Ethiopia. Dr. Savimbi said help was needed now from the two countries to avert a catastrophe.

### Luanda Reports Nujoma Message to Dos Santos

MB2706073890 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese  
0600 G: 27 Jun 90

[Text] The Namibian Government has once again expressed its deep gratitude and appreciation for the solid support rendered by the Angolan people and government to the Namibian people's arduous struggle for national independence. This is contained in a message from Namibian President Sam Nujoma issued in Luanda yesterday.

The message, addressed to Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angolan head of state, stresses the role played by the MPLA-[Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party and the Angolan people and government, without which Namibia's independence would have been delayed.

### UNITA Commentary Criticizes Nelson Mandela

MB2706094690 (Clandestine) KUP in English to  
Southern and Central Africa 0900 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Commentary: "Where to Mandela?"]

[Text] Jamba, Tues June 26 [dateline as received]—Behaving like a real pony, Mandela goes around with commotion, exactly like a toy.

Paradoxically, he goes to the United States of America to ask for moral and material support for his organisation, the ANC [African National Congress], against apartheid, at the same time that he is trying to persuade the American Government to cut off aid to UNITA. The world is fed up with silly people. This Bushman should know that South Africa is not Angola. UNITA has nothing that links it to South Africa, not in its principles nor in its objectives.

UNITA has, yes, a categorical message for this Trojan horse of Russian imperialism: The blood of Angolans, massacred by the ANC in Angola, was not shed in vain. This is enough as a solemn warning to this launchpad of Russian imperialism. If he continues to provoke the Angolan people he should know that he is imminently to go back to jail. If the 26 years behind bars were not sufficient to gain him some sense, he should know that Angolans are people with principles and do not tolerate provocations.

The solution of the Angolan problem has necessarily to involve UNITA. And all the help from the international community, mainly the United States of America, to UNITA is not only legitimate but also indispensable.

To the American people, Congress and administration of His Excellency President George Bush, our may thanks. The cause of freedom and democracy will win.

Long live UNITA. Long live President Savimbi.

### \* Overseas Business Corporation Encourages Trade

34000747A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
ECONOMIST in English Apr-May 90 p 37

[Text] Two years ago Angola formed a company called the Overseas Business Corporation (OBC) under the ministry of foreign trade to handle its international export/import interests and, where possible, to attract investment to industry and other sectors of the economy. Already it has achieved a turnover of US\$500 million, with half of it being in the handling of crude oil exports.

OBC has been a boon to Angolan merchants, providing them up to 180 days credit as against other wholesale importers who demand immediate cash payment for goods supplies. It has also had a positive impact on the black market reducing activity there. The Candonga, as the black market is called, is still very much alive and kicking—but according to Mr Silvio Burity, the manager of OBC's Harare office, not as boisterously as before.

Shops may not be full, but at least now people can get some of their requirements from them—something that has not happened in the past, he says.

OBC has spread its wings to several parts of the world. Though a wholly Angolan company, it has its headquarters in Milan, Italy. It also has offices in Brazil, Argentina, Hong Kong, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Zimbabwe and has just established an office in Namibia. The establishment of OBC Zimbabwe (Pvt) Ltd and OBC Namibia (Pvt) Ltd is in line with the spirit of regional cooperation. Officials of OBC Zimbabwe say their company's presence in Zimbabwe and Namibia will enable a more effective sourcing of Angola's imports from the region which last year supplied up to US\$17 million of imports. Out of that total, Zimbabwe accounted for US\$2 million.

Imports from Zimbabwe and the other SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] countries could be higher, but there are transport problems and, according to OBC, cumbersome bank procedures to contend with, especially in Zimbabwe. For instance much as Angola would like to import maize from Zimbabwe, it finds itself turning to countries like Kenya because, apart from maize being more expensive in Zimbabwe, shipping costs through the port of Beira in Mozambique are too high. A tonne of maize through Beira costs around US\$100 while from Mombasa it costs US\$60-80 per tonne.

That is why Angola's imports from Zimbabwe have been mainly perishable products which are air freighted. So far these have included fruits and vegetables, dairy products and now OBC is looking into meat imports. Other items being imported from Zimbabwe include clothes, blankets, agricultural implements, radios, stoves, locks, bicycles, hats, confectioneries and pots and dishes.

OBC is convinced Zimbabwe has a lot to offer and it says it could buy more from Zimbabwe if only it could secure more favorable payment terms. Officials from the Zimbabwe Reserve Bank could not comment but confirmed on-going contacts between their Bank and its Angolan counterparts.

### \* Country's Food Supply Prospects Worsening

34000747B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
ECONOMIST in English Apr-May 90 p 33

[Text] The food security situation in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) region for the 1989/90 marketing season is encouraging with domestic availability of the major food staples eight percent above total requirements.

On an individual country basis, however, the picture is not so rosy. According to the latest SADCC Food Security Bulletin, with the exception of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe which recorded surpluses in the staple grains mostly maize, the rest of the SADCC countries

recorded deficits. Lesotho and Angola were hardest hit, with deficits ranging between 25 and 50 percent. In the case of Lesotho, the deficit was largely the result of drought, while in Angola drought was only one of several factors which worsened an already bad situation.

The supply of production inputs, such as fertilizers and seed, was extremely poor in Angola. At the end of 1989, Angola's food supplies were 18.5 percent or 234,000 tonnes less than estimated consumption needs. Deaths from starvation were reported in some areas.

Efforts to make up the shortfall through imports were however hampered by the shortage of foreign exchange. The country also received less food aid than before, worsening the situation further.

At present, the amount of officially held food stocks is at a dangerously low level. In fact at the end of December food stocks were insufficient to feed the nation for less than two weeks.

Because of foreign currency constraints, Angola will import less food than required this year. In the 1989 marketing year, the country anticipated a shortfall of 539,000 tonnes of maize equivalent. But commercial imports and food aid only covered 271,900 tonnes or 50 percent of the deficit, leaving a shortfall of 267,100 tonnes.

Angola's food supply situation has been worsened by logistical problems which hamper food distribution and by the prevailing unrest in the country and the consequent disruption of the already creaky transport system. The war has also displaced millions of civilians who should otherwise be engaged in food production.

Most of the food imports last year were earmarked for emergency relief in the southern parts of the country. Wheat imports constituted the bulk of the grain imports and to some extent offset deficits in rice and maize production. Maize and rice imports amounted to only 27 percent and 32 percent respectively of import requirements for these commodities.

Unless the rainfall situation improves, the 1990 agricultural season may be yet another disaster for Angola. Most of the country, especially the south, has received below normal rainfall. In places like Huambo, in the central part of the country, the bean crop has already failed. The southern provinces, which are an important agricultural region, have also been hit hard by the drought. Early planted maize has completely failed and sorghum, millet and beans are in bad shape.

Angola faces other administrative and logistical problems including lack of inputs and poor distribution networks. After the National Seed Enterprise had distributed all its stock of seed, the major crop growing in southern regions still needed 2,200 tonnes of maize seed and 1,400 tonnes of sorghum/millet seeds as well as 1,500 tonnes of cassava stem cuttings.



But as if this was not already enough trouble, official producer prices for agricultural crops are unrealistically low and do not take into account the rising costs of production. As such, they are not an incentive to producers. Given the logistical and foreign exchange constraints there is only one way of ensuring food security—the people themselves must grow it and to this end, no incentive should be too high to pay.

**\* Mood in Luanda, Economic Difficulties Viewed**

90AF0195A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 25 May 90 p 51

[Text] A wave of rumors that we concluded to have been planted disturbed the total silence that has been reigning within both the government and the MPLA [Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party, on the issue of the circumstances surrounding the next exploratory contacts with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. In effect, and contrary to usual practice, this time there is complete caution with respect to information of this type, considering there is no other data, not even from alternative sources, to clarify the situation to the Portuguese Government, either from the side of Luanda, or through Vorgan (the rebel radio). Meanwhile, during the course of the last two weeks a series of rumors have begun circulating intended, in our view, to disturb a certain tranquility among the population which, despite everything, could be noted in the Angolan capital.

There has been talk of attempts at a coup d'etat, there has been talk of leaders who supposedly have been already arrested, giving one to understand that there was practically no possibility whatsoever of unity at the level of the highest hierarchical structure in the MPLA. It was commented that the Politburo was totally divided and that there was total disagreement between leaders supporting continuation of contacts with UNITA, leaders who were against this, and leaders who individually had already established individual contacts with UNITA elements.

They referred specifically to Colonel Santana Andre Pitra (Petroff), MPLA Secretary for Agrarian Policy, and to Angolan Defense Minister Colonel-General Pedale.

The truth is that the first governor finds himself in a service mission in Uije Province and the second has just returned from the Republic of Namibia, where he went to sign a draft agreement on border security with Sam Nujoma's country.

The reason for the existence of this rumor campaign is difficult to discern, although we can state that we had access to information that indicates that it originated with the Luanda office of the oil firm ELF-Aquitaine. It could simply be the results of competition, attempting to destabilize agreements that the government has with other oil multinationals, or it could also have some connection with the strategy of the French Government, whose relations with the government of the party in

power have never been very clear, and who have demonstrated some sympathies toward UNITA.

It could be linked to the arrival in Angola of a Chevron representative who comes, as far as is known, to reaffirm the continuation of relations with Luanda, at a time when it had been announced that its management had decided, as a result of Senate pressures, to suspend the delivery of the funds agreed upon with the People's Republic of Angola.

That same source informed us that the head of the government himself is aware of the origin of this information, which he claims to be completely false, more so today than yesterday, again originating with ELF's Luanda delegation, another rumor was launched, on UNITA's taking of the city of Sumbe, formerly Novo Redondo, in the province of Cuanza Sul, which was denied by contacts we held with Provincial Radio in that region.

On the other hand, there still exists the problem of the irregularity of the electrical energy supply to the Angolan capital. The director-general of the energy transport enterprise, Sonefe, Engineer Paulo Matos, announced days ago in a press conference that normal operation of the energy transport line is expected within three weeks.

Engineer Paulo Matos announced that contrary to information that had been circulated, the solution of using an extremely powerful turbine will only be viable at the beginning of next year, since that type of turbine is only made to order and is not found in the international market.

According to the Sonefe official, the completion of the work was expected by next week, before the latest act of sabotage on the part of UNITA, which raised to 48 the number of towers knocked down.

With respect to the repair of the towers, Sonefe informed us that the work is behind schedule due to the rains that fell at the time.

**Bishops Salute Meeting in Evora**

On the 20th of this month, in a pastoral message coming out of the first general assembly of the Catholic bishops of Angola, which took place in Evora, direct contacts between the Angolan Government and UNITA were hailed.

The message also stated that the climate of violence is increasing at an alarming rate, and that lately unacceptable acts, even for wartime conditions, have been witnessed, such as attacks on hospitals and innocent and defenseless populations, and the destruction of schools and churches.

The bishops also hailed the start of the democratization of Angolan society, stating that with respect to direct contacts the general consensus on peace shows that this is possible and, what is more, that this is urgent.

As we had predicted, the Angolan Government is now rushing the economic and financial measures, which we described some weeks ago.

The Council of Ministers approved last Friday a decree-law on the new pricing system. The decree established basically three price systems, specifically the system of fixed prices, that of trading margins, and that of free prices. These price systems can be combined among themselves in such a way that the state can utilize them as a form of support for its economic policy. Another important fact emerging from this meeting of the Council of Ministers is the approval of the draft resolution creating the Ministry of Information, which would be integrated into the economic and social sphere of the government, currently reporting directly to the president of the republic and head of government.

The approval by the Assembly of the People (Parliament) of this draft resolution and the Printed Press Law corresponds to the measures announced at the beginning of the year regarding a greater democratization at all levels. The creation of the Ministry of Information implies, naturally, handing control of the media over to the government, until now the responsibility of the ideological sphere of the Party.

Some names have already been put forward, in particular that of current MPLA Secretary for Foreign Relations Afonso Van-Dunem, and that of former Presidential Press Secretary Aldemiro Vaz da Conceicao.

The ministers and secretaries of the State of Angola also discussed restructuring the Ministry of Education, as well as reformulating the national education system, which anticipates, among other changes, returning to the Church those schools that had formerly belonged to them.

#### \* Dos Santos Increases Tasks of Ministries

90AF0195B Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 25 May 90 p 50

[Article by Carlos Ferreira]

[Text] A presidential decree published Saturday [19 May] in Luanda calls for the central and local organizations of the state administration to present, within a period of 30 days, immediate plans for undertaking a series of activities, specifically those involving economic activities of small and medium scope, in order that the population will benefit immediately from the social impact of these measures. Pointing objectively to distinct areas of the national economy, including trade, restaurants, bars, etc., light industry, health, medical distribution and social assistance, education, school renovation, transport, and renovation and expansion of the urban and inter-urban bus fleet, in the end the decree signed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos reiterates the same instructions he has been giving the government for at least five years.

If on the one hand this action within the current political framework demonstrates clear concern on the part of the President of the Republic, in what it says with respect to the questions that negatively affect the daily life of citizens; on the other hand, the head of the government is clearly distinguishing himself from the members, giving them exclusive responsibility for the enormous gaps at all levels.

In effect, since we have begun hearing about the program of economic and financial recovery, the most widely, varying plans have been developed in all areas of the government for the purpose of attaining various objectives of a fundamentally social character, and the truth is that with the exception of trade and the Provincial Commissariat of Luanda, where evident efforts for regularizing the situation have been taken, nothing can be said has been accomplished at other levels.

As we have several times noted and demonstrated, it is President Eduardo dos Santos that is seen as providing the catalyst, step by step, for some of the timid changes in the status quo.

The idea is that no ministry, with the exceptions mentioned above, has even minimally fulfilled the basic lines of orientation outlined by the MPLA [Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Congress, which took place in 1985.

The aforementioned decree, which isolates the members of the executive branch from the community to which it belongs, demonstrating clearly who is responsible for the problems that could be resolved, fails perhaps in not changing that which should be changed: the governmental structure, in which few believe, whether because of the inefficiency of the majority of its members, or the delays with which situations are resolved.

#### Exonerations Punish Incompetence

Only a few days ago the chief of state had to intervene in a trial involving a citizen ejected from the house where she had been living, apparently illegally. Overextending the period legally provided for, then-Secretary of State for Urban Affairs, Housing and Water Paulo Bonga authorized the removal of the citizen from the house where she resided when the decree regulating situations such as these transferred responsibility to the provincial delegates of the Secretariat of State. After undertaking a brief investigation, Jose Eduardo dos Santos exonerated Paulo Bonga, naming a young cadre, Vitoriano Nicolau, who until recently had been an official for the Provincial Commissariat of Luanda, where he had been responsible for the economic and social area. This, however, has been one of the results of the alternatives that have been tried by the Angolan chief executive. With some difficulty in identifying competent cadres for nomination, since the winds do not always blow in the direction of those who would succeed rather than those who see themselves to be the legitimate owners of the governmental posts, the naming of this cadre to a functioning structure and moralizing a function that no one

respected, the former city council, provides some hope for resolving the various problems being debated within the Secretariat of State.

The same occurred in the Ministry of Transport and Communication, in whose leader many hopes were deposited, whether because of his youth or because of his experience in similar posts. In the end, even after having in fact taken some steps, Carlos Fernandes was removed from the functions he exercised because, according to the report, of his excessive and unjustified delays in implementing some of his decisions. Meanwhile, the nomination of Colonel Paulo Cassoma, who was responsible for the technical area of armaments in the Ministry of Defense, has surprised many people. Everyone was awaiting the nomination of someone with experience in administrative management and recognizable leadership capacity. Paulo Cassoma is a cadre of whom nothing is known, which may possibly be considered a triumph, a notch on the President's sleeve, who is again working the usual routine of some years ago, shuffling the cards and dealing again.

Other areas will surely follow. The proximity of the congressional sessions, the indications of incapacity on the part of the majority of the members of the government, and the population's great instability will necessitate some changes that at least will justify the prestige of the president of the republic. The truth is that the harshness of the daily problems calls for taking energetic measures that can in some form alleviate the grave shortages among the people. And such measures will have to be brought before the public before rigorously carrying out in practice the so-called policy of economic recovery delineated by the IMF and World Bank agreement. The so-called SEF [Economic and Financial Recovery], except for those familiar with the workings of those two institutions in the Third World, will require evident sacrifices and a belt-tightening that in the short term clearly hurts those who are already from the outset the disadvantaged. However, we believe that this has been the fear of the Angolan president, in his announcement of the devaluation of the currency and the corresponding change in economic policy. The possibility that some disputes could result from the growth of the ill-will between citizens, would have to be balanced with a better lending of services, reinforced, as we understand it, by the presidential decree that gave impetus to this work.

In recent days there has been little said of the problems related to the peace issue, which is a sure sign that something is happening behind the scenes.

#### **Withdrawal From Mavinga To Reinforce Luanda**

The announcement on the part of the Angolan Ministry of Defense on the abandonment of the Mavinga region, arguing that the duty of sovereignty has been fulfilled, has puzzled many people, although everyone agrees on the need to militarily cover other areas that are at this time much more important and which makes it difficult

to achieve a resolution, or at least contribute to delays in resolving those questions linked, for example, to the recovery of the green belts in the main urban centers.

It is not by mere chance that the withdrawal from Mavinga coincides with the transfer of Lieutenant General Antonio dos Santos Franca, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the FAPLA [Peoples Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] to the Kwanza-Bengo region, which has long been harassed by pockets of guerrillas who seriously impede the normal transport of the supply of agricultural products to the country's capital.

The placement in that region of the national army's most important strategist proves the will to clean up the access roads to Luanda and simultaneously further calm the population which lately, and contrary to what has been occurring, with the obligatory harvest practically nonexistent, have been returning in droves with the closed control of pedestrians between 2100 and 2200. In turn, the probable presidency of Lopo do Nascimento in the southern front confirms that that area is passing through a moment of relative calm, knowing as it does that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] will now try to go up north to take advantage of the visible, clear and open support offered by Mobuto, the presumed mediator of the Angolan internal conflict, while on the other hand the provincial commissariat of Huila is not exactly knowledgeable in military affairs.

Many things could occur in the near future. Jose Eduardo dos Santos is looking for the fastest way possible to resolve some fundamental questions facing the population. To do so, he is establishing an obviously short time frame with respect to the government apparatus, 30 days to present the plans for immediate action.

Obviously short for those responsible as ministers or national directors for the past four or five years, and who over the course of these years have done practically nothing, but at the same time it indicates to the population once more that Agostinho Neto's heir is genuinely concerned with their problems, has a clear understanding of them, and does not find in practice the corresponding rapidity and competency on the part of his administration.

It is inferred here that it is very probable, stemming from the principle that the same officials who did not complete what should have been done in several years of governing are not going to do so now, that Jose Eduardo dos Santos will have a free hand to nominate new executives without having to engage in some likely maneuvers behind the scenes, taking into consideration what he thinks, what he knows and of what he is aware regarding the seriousness of the socioeconomic situation of the People's Republic of Angola. At the same time, and because the executive is not the only person responsible at the level of the party apparatus, he could come to Congress without having to resort to his own arguments to finish what at this moment interest him the most; the



evolution of the facts speaks for itself, and all this could in the end simplify the decisions he intends to take.

### \* FAPLA's Last Assault on Mavinga Described

90AF0228A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
26 May 90 pp 1, 24

[Report by Paulo Comacho]

[Text] Officials of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in Mavinga have said that the Portuguese military advisers of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] had a basic role in defining the strategy for the offensive launched by the government forces against the traditional rebel positions in southeastern Angola. "Unlike the previous offensive, the strategy now employed by the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] is very similar to the NATO model," said Gen. Ben-Ben, UNITA's chief of staff.

The most recent MPLA offensive lasted for 137 days and ended on 8 May with the withdrawal of the FAPLA from a position 12 km northwest of the former colonial town of Mavinga, which has a strategic air field. Designated the "Final Assault," the operation was the most violent and effective of several attempts by the Luanda Government, over 15 years of civil war, to put an end to the armed resistance by UNITA. For the first time, the government forces succeeded in crossing the Lomba River (30 km north of Mavinga), considered the last natural defense of Jamba, which lies about 450 km south of the old colonial town.

The military intelligence services of Savimbi's movement said they had intercepted several radio communications between the FAPLA's forward command post and the rear guard command, installed in the city of Menongue (167 km northwest of Mavinga), and that various typically Portuguese military terms were used in those communications.

A UNITA military intelligence officer told EXPRESSO that UNITA was unable to verify the identity of the Portuguese most directly involved in the offensive. "None of the FAPLA soldiers we have captured knew the foreign military advisers," the officer said.

However, Gen. Huambo, the rebels' chief of military intelligence, said that at least four Portuguese Army reserve officers were advising the FAPLA regarding various tactics used in the offensive. Gen. Huambo identified these officers as Lt. Col. Vasco Lourenco, Col. Pezerat Correia, Col. Sacramento, and Maj. Abreu.

UNITA also claims that, at the beginning of this year, Elisio de Figueiredo, a former captain in the Portuguese Army who had joined the FAPLA with the rank of major and was known as "Matubeira," had recruited former Portuguese paratroop officers Col. Ramos Goncalves, Lt. Col. Monteiro, and Capt. Lopes Nunes to replace the

Cuban instructors who had been training the commando units of the government forces.

### 400 Tanks

The strategy for the "Final Assault" was based on the use of 400 Soviet-manufactured BMP-1 armored troop transport vehicles, which constituted the forward line of the FAPLA.

UNITA soldiers, who were accustomed to engaging with an infantry supported by T-54 and T-55 slow tanks, found it very hard going against the BMP-1 tanks, which were outfitted with 10 machineguns and a 73 mm cannon and were capable of reaching a speed of about 100 km per hour. "When the BMP-1s showed up in force, with their muzzles raised and rolling over everything, it was murder," commented a lieutenant who was involved in the first days of the fighting, when the FAPLA tanks "penetrated our lines of defense like a hot knife through butter."

The only reason the UNITA troops were not completely routed during the first weeks of the offensive was that the air support for the MPLA's mechanized infantry was not very effective. "Their pilots are very timid and they fly very high. The 'sugarplums' (as the Luanda pilots refer to the bombs) never hit the targets."

Paradoxically, the crossing of the Lomba River, after only seven days of fighting, proved fatal to the government forces. With their supply lines overextended and subject to constant attack, the forward troops of the 10,000- to 12,000-man force which the FAPLA used in the offensive were immobilized for 91 days on sandy terrain, 12 km northwest of Mavinga.

### Over 1,000 Dead

The objective was to occupy the former colonial town, with its asphalt landing strip which could then be used by the Antonov transport planes to resupply and reequip the troops, enabling them to continue the drive that the 'hard-liners' in Luanda wanted to take all the way to Jamba. In the end, however, the FAPLA drew back to its former position, leaving behind quantities of materiel, which appeared to indicate a hasty and disorderly retreat. (UNITA claims to have destroyed or captured more than 500 vehicles, including 222 BMP-1s. The attacking force was said to have lost 1,062 men, while the rebels suffered about 180 casualties.)

The three-month halt on dangerous terrain, within range of UNITA artillery, without water and with problems in receiving supplies and ammunition, would seem to indicate a lack of planning, in contrast to the efficient manner in which the offensive had been conducted up to that point. The rebels said the government troops "had halted to try to regroup," but several observers admit that the halt may have been called when the United States intervened and made it known to Luanda that it would not accept an attack on Jamba. Whatever the reason, the fact is that while the FAPLA troops were

waiting on the outskirts of Mavinga, the United States mounted an airlift to resupply and rearm UNITA. C-130 planes landed frequently on the airstrips at Jamba and Likua (UNITA's logistical base); they probably came from the U.S. base located at Kamina, in Zaire. Gen. Ben-Ben himself admitted that "without the U.S. aid, it would have been very, very difficult."

Late on 6 May, UNITA launched a counteroffensive, using basically artillery pieces and Land Rover "jeeps" and Toyota Land Cruisers on which 106 mm antitank guns were mounted, which proved to be a good "antidote" to the BMP-1 tanks. Some 36 hours later, early on 8 May, the FAPLA began a slow retreat of about 150 km to its forward base at Cuito Canavale.

Days after the retreat, journalists visited the area where government forces had camped for three months. The site bore the marks of a battle which lasted one and one-half days and in which about 200 men lost their lives: dozens of charred tanks and trucks, abandoned weapons and medicines, boots left behind in a headlong flight.

### Lesotho

**Queen Mmamohato Inaugurates Constituent Assembly**  
*MB2806171490 Maseru Domestic Service in Sesotho*  
*1323 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Address by Queen Mmamohato Seeiso at the inauguration of the National Constituent Assembly at the Parliament Buildings in Maseru—live]

[Text] Honorable members of the Military Council, Honorable Chief Justice, honorable members of the National Constituent Assembly, the diplomatic corps, the Basotho nation: On this inaugural day of the National Constituent Assembly, I am proud to welcome and congratulate you on being chosen to deliberate on the affairs of this nation.

It is my belief and hope that you were chosen because you are knowledgeable men and women, honorable and worthy people who will lead this country to true peace, stability, and freedom. I urge you, from deep within your hearts, to determinedly work for true reconciliation and freedom, and for the foundations of peace and progress in all nations.

Peace to Basotho is no small thing. The founder of this nation called peace his sister. It is this same peace that we ask God Almighty for daily in our national anthem when we sing: Oh, may this land of our fathers have peace. Peace is what this country thirsts for and for which it has experienced hardships for many years.

That being the case, you men and women who have been elected to the Constituent Assembly, your task is straightforward, and your responsibility is indeed great when one looks at what your deliberations could give birth to.

It is over 20 years now since we attained independence and were given the full task of running our own affairs, and yet we all agree that we still lag far behind in matters of good government, economic development, and in attaining a good standard of living for the nation. We also agree that without unity, respect, and national cooperation, the next 20 years will find us in exactly the same situation.

I call upon you to look deep within yourselves and to ask yourselves truthfully what your motives are in this task. A person is remembered by his deeds, and you will also be remembered by your contribution to this constituent assembly. Your names will go down in the history of this nation and under them will be enumerated the fruits borne by your work, for both yourselves, your children, and future generations.

I also wish to remind you that these are times of upheaval in many parts of the world, and our country and southern African are no exceptions. The world is being swept by winds of change, winds of independence and freedom, winds working to protect human rights and dignity. The world has run out of time for confrontation, destruction, and greed. The world needs truth, justice, and peace. Take heed that we do not make light of opportunities to make good, otherwise our country will continue in its backwardness and will turn into ruthless ruin.

We will maintain keen interest in your deliberations and will keep our eyes wide open to ensure that we miss nothing, for in the end it is this very nation of the Basotho that will truly judge the results of the work you begin today.

Give yourselves strength and courage, and carry out your deliberations carefully and timely so that you do not take too long and cause discouragement and loss of hope in the nation. I wish you success, an enjoyable working session, and a spirit of cooperation.

**Constituent Assembly President Sworn In 28 Jun**  
*MB2806153090 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1416 GMT*  
*28 Jun 90*

[Text] Maseru, June 28, SAPA—A Lesotho academic, Dr. Teboho Kolane, was on Thursday [28 June] sworn in as president of the Lesotho Constituent Assembly. Most other members of the assembly were also sworn in, reports SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

Dr. Kolane was speaker of the Constituent Assembly before the coup by Major-General Metsing Lekhanya in January 1986, which resulted in the establishment of a military government.

The purpose of the Constituent Assembly is to formulate a constitution before the country becomes a democracy in June 1992.

### Malawi

#### President Receives Ugandan Envoy 27 June

*MB2706171290 Blantyre Domestic Service in English  
1600 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] His Excellency the life president, Ngwazi [eagle] Dr. Kamuzu Banda has reiterated his belief in good neighborliness based on the principle of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in other countries' internal affairs.

The life president was speaking today at Sanjika Palace in Blantyre when the first Ugandan high commissioner to Malawi, Mr. Valerian Baguma, presented his letters of commission.

In his speech, the Ngwazi said he cherishes the cordial relations that exist between Malawi and Uganda. He pointed out that, in addition to the vigorous bilateral relations of cooperation between the two countries, manifested by their mutual membership of [word indistinct] organizations such as the OAU, the PTA [Preferential Trade Area], the Commonwealth, and the United Nations.

The life president also told the envoy that Malawi appreciates and welcomes the recent political developments in South Africa.

Presenting his credentials, Mr. Valerian Baguma noted that Uganda and Malawi have many things in common, including culture and traditions. He also said the two countries face the same task of national economic development and improvement of the quality of life for (each) people through educational and social services.

The Ugandan envoy is based in Lusaka, Zambia, and is also accredited to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Angola.

### Mozambique

#### Chissano Sends Iran Condolence Message

*MB2806112690 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1030 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has sent a message of condolences to his Iranian counterpart Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani for the tragic situation caused by the earthquake which hit Iran a week ago. The Mozambican head of state has expressed deep grief for the sad news of the earthquake which killed tens of thousands of people and wounded and left homeless hundreds of thousands of others.

#### Mocumbi Sends Message to Shevardnadze

*MB2806080390 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
0500 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has reiterated the desire to see relations of friendship and cooperation between Mozambique and the USSR deepened and consolidated further. This is contained in a message sent to his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Mozambique and the USSR. In the message, Minister Mocumbi praises the varied Soviet assistance to Mozambique and expresses satisfaction with achievements made during 15 years of cooperation.

#### Cuba's Malmierca Reiterates Assistance

*MB2706155990 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1400 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca has reiterated the Cuban people's willingness to assist the Mozambican people in their efforts to establish peace and in their social program. In a message addressed to Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi on the occasion of Mozambique's national day, Malmierca reiterated that Cuba is also committed to increasing cooperation with our country.

#### Vietnam To Close Embassy for 'Financial Reasons'

*MB2706170590 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1030 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] The Mozambican News Agency has learned from Vietnamese Embassy Consul (Niguyo Xinh) that Vietnam will close its embassy in Maputo for financial reasons. He pointed out that Vietnamese interests in Mozambique will be represented by a nonresident ambassador who will soon present his credentials to President Joaquim Chissano. Vietnam also intends to close its missions in Zimbabwe and Madagascar for similar reasons.

#### Switzerland Signs \$1.7 Million Aid Package

*MB2706201490 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] The Swiss Government will grant more than \$1.7 million to Mozambique for an emergency management program in Zambezia, Sofala, Tete, and Nampula Provinces. An accord was signed in Maputo this afternoon by (Jean Pierre Balamas), Swiss charge d'affaires, and Gustavo Touro, deputy representative of the UN Development Program. The two-year project will be implemented by the National Emergency Executive Commission and the UN World Food Program.



### Swaziland Returns 'Diverted' Helicopter

MB2906061590 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
0500 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] A Mozambique Air Force MI-8 helicopter that was diverted to Swaziland last Saturday [23 June] arrived in the country yesterday afternoon. This was announced by the Mozambique News Agency citing a communique from the Mozambique Armed Forces General Staff.

According to the communique, the plane that was piloted by co-pilot Caetano de Assuncao Salomao Machava, a noncommissioned officer, left without authorization from the Mavalane Air Base in Maputo and landed in the Kingdom of Swaziland. The communique pointed out that reasons which led to this action are still unknown. Although the pilot left alone, Swazi authorities revealed that the plane carried three people when it landed.

## Namibia

### Prime Minister on Diplomatic Relations With RSA

MB2806101090 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 0430 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob says his country is to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa and appoint a representative or ambassador in Pretoria to take care of his country's interests.

Mr. Geingob said officials for posts are already being trained in certain countries, but this process will take time due to financial constraints. He said once Namibia has built a strong enough economy, it aims to reduce its dependence on South Africa gradually.

Referring to the controversy over Walvis Bay, Mr. Geingob said the port forms part of Namibia and his country will fight for every centimeter of its territory.

Walvis Bay, the only deep-water port in southwestern Africa and the route for almost all Namibia's exports, has belonged to South Africa for most of this century.

### 28 June Namibian Press Review on Current Issues

MB2806124290

[Editorial Report]

## TIMES OF NAMIBIA

RSA Suspected in Attacks on Ministers—"It is with the utmost shock and disgust that we learned yesterday of the two cowardly shootings" on the homes of two cabinet ministers, states the Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 22 June in a page 2 editorial. "Whatever the motives might be behind the shootings, we will always deplore and never condone these acts of terrorism."

President Nujoma "set the tone of reconciliation in the country. Most Namibians adhered to this call," indicating that they "were prepared to forget the differences of the past, and that they prefer to live together in peace and harmony." Both the August 1989 attack on the UN offices in Outjo and the September 1989 killing of SWAPO official Anton Lubowski "resemble closely" the attacks on the ministers' houses. "The fact is that the fugitives held responsible for these acts are still at large in South Africa and elsewhere. Are we wrong to suspect that Wednesday's shooting was again the work of these fugitives and members of South Africa's Civil Cooperation Bureau?"

Government 'Responsible' Reaction Praised—The TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 25 June notes in a page 2 editorial that the attacks on the ministers' homes are "the most serious acts to endanger peace since independence, tearing at the very fabric of a still fragile society." "Therefore, the TIMES has much appreciation for the rational way in which the government reacted to these cowardly deeds. The government's reaction to these acts of blatant terror showed that we have responsible government. The reaction—blaming demented individuals, and resisting an easy and emotional temptation to accuse collectively—showed more than any previous incident that the government may be a worthy guardian of the constitution."

Donors' Conference Successful—In a second editorial on the same page, the TIMES OF NAMIBIA states: "It is too early for a final assessment, but by all accounts Namibia is raking in the money at the donors' conference in New York. The TIMES is glad. It could be money well spent."

## WINDHOEK OBSERVER

RSA Sanctions Harm Namibia—"The detrimental effect that sanctions has on the RSA is having a direct negative influence on Namibia," declares the Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English on 22 June in a page 2 editorial. "The odds remain against us." "We call on the world to reject the calls for sanctions. It no longer has any foundation. Or instead give Namibia the billions it needs to become economically independent." "There are a million and one things the government has to see to, but it is governing with its hands tied behind its back because of unjustified handicaps being laid in its way." "The outside world who had so much to say in prompting Namibia's independence must right now put their money where their mouth was that time, and give us the promise aid."

## THE NAMIBIAN

Nujoma Meets Bush—President Nujoma's meeting with President Bush at the White House would have been "virtually unthinkable" until recently, observes Gwen Lister in her "Political Perspective" column on page 6 of the 22 June Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English. "Yet the 'unthinkable' has happened, and trade and aid

agreements have been signed between the two countries." President Nujoma, "a man who was not so long ago regarded as a 'terrorist' in the United States," "is now commended by the U.S. President for the 'respect he has earned throughout the world'! Well, it certainly proves who was right and who was wrong in the past, for what it's worth!" "I hope that the agreements and aid pledges are not dependent on Namibia's adherence to what is known as the Kasten Amendment, recently passed by the U.S. Senate." "While I do not advocate military involvement in Angola on behalf of Namibia's new army, I do not believe that this country should have to make concessions to the U.S. in return for aid. It would be almost worse than becoming dependent on loans rather than grants!" "Anyway, for the sake of the country and its people, it's pleasing to note that the Americans have finally 'come round' to accepting SWAPO in its elected position as the Government of Namibia, and that the U.S. will minimize, if not totally eradicate, any kind of interference, either overt or covert, in the running of the country."

Gun Control 'Absolutely Imperative'—"The armed attacks on the homes of two government ministers must serve to give impetus to the attempts to control, and hopefully eliminate, the illegal possession of weapons in this country," asserts THE NAMIBIAN in a 22 June editorial on page 7. "The proliferation of illegal arms is not something new." "This is yet another of a series of problems which has been inherited by Namibia's new government, and which makes their immediate tasks so much more difficult." "A situation of deterioration leading to lawlessness with armed groups wandering the country must be prevented at all costs. But things will not improve unless there are less guns in circulation in Namibia." The Interior Ministry has urged the public to turn in all unlicensed weapons. "It is absolutely imperative that the authorities do all in their power to ensure that this is complied with in order to ensure that a situation of peace and stability is achieved in this country."

## Zambia

### Police Official Warns Public To Observe Curfew

MB2806183290 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] Police in Lusaka have warned the general public to observe the dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed by the government two days ago or risk being arrested.

Police public relations officer (Anthony Kanelindja) said today that the curfew was still effective and all Lusaka, Shongwe, Katuta, and Luangwa residents should observe the curfew regulations.

He advised those attending funerals to spend nights at funeral houses and not to move at night and those arriving in the capital by road and railway to remain at respective stations until 0600.

He said those arriving or leaving by air should make arrangements with the police so that defense personnel would accompany them to and from the airport. Comrade (Kanelindja) said essential workers would be issued with curfew exemption papers.

### Government Announces Reopening of Shops in Lusaka

MB2906065090 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
0500 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] A government spokesman has announced that shops in Lusaka will open to the public today to allow people buy essential commodities. The spokesman said sufficient supplies of mealie meal will be delivered at [word indistinct] state shops in [words indistinct] and at the University Teaching Hospital.

He said all the three main state shops along Cairo Road will also be opened and [words indistinct] the spokesman also announced that all state shops will open today and tomorrow at 0800 hours up to 1600 hours, and will also open on public holidays, on Monday and Tuesday, from 0800 hours to 1200 hours.

All employees in the government, parastatals, district councils, and private organizations have been urged to report to work on all working days as usual [words indistinct].

### Soldiers on University Campus; Students Sent Home

MB2906103890 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Troops have moved onto the campus of the university of Zambia and rounded up students calling for the resignation of President Kenneth Kaunda.

Reporters were turned away by soldiers at the gates, but were able to see several thousand students waiting with their luggage on the campus lawns, surrounded by soldiers.

A senior police official says the university has been closed indefinitely and students are being sent home.

University students led protests against food prices on Monday which later flared into country wide rioting. At least 23 Zambians were killed. More than 30 student leaders have been detained under security laws.

### Kaunda Receives New UK Envoy; 'Differences' Over

MB2206195190 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] President Kaunda has said the differences between Zambia and Britain over South Africa are now a thing of the past because of the positive steps being taken by President Frederik de Klerk.

The president expressed the hope that the direction of things in South Africa would continue so that there is no need for ill feelings, as has been the case between Zambia and Britain over South Africa.

Comrade Kaunda expressed these sentiments when he received the credentials at State House from the new British high commissioner to Zambia, Mr. (Peter Hitchcock).

He said the announcement by the South African Government a few days ago that it would probably talk to the ANC [African National Congress] on the future of the country enhances the prospects for peace.

#### **President Opens Lusaka Party Conference**

*MB2306202490 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] President Kaunda has declared that Zambia should enter the next 25 years in style and fashion and announced far-reaching measures to improve the provision of [words indistinct] houses for the masses.

President Kaunda also announced that Prime Minister Malimba Masheke will soon travel to China to learn how Zambia could produce cheaper clothing materials, while the Zambian national service commander, Major General (Steven Zulu), leaves for Korea on a similar mission tomorrow.

The president, who was speaking when he officially opened the 11th Lusaka Province party conference at

[name indistinct] memorial camp, said that the new point of emphasis in the next 25 years will be taking personal development to the people.

Meanwhile, President Kaunda has called for stronger mobilization, organization, administration, and politicization of the party at grass-roots level. The president, who emphasized the need for strengthening the party at ward level, said the party was now going to have a new point of emphasis by taking personal development to the people. He appealed to the leadership at ward level to be in the forefront of educating the masses in methods that would greatly improve hygiene, agriculture, and (?nutrition) in society.

#### **Kaunda Welcomes Namibia's Nujoma 27 June**

*MB2706193890 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Namibian President Sam Nujoma arrived in Lusaka today on a brief stopover in Lusaka from the United Nations in New York. He was met at Lusaka international airport by President Kaunda.

Comrade Nujoma was at the United Nations to attend a donor conference organized by the United Nations. The Namibian president, in an interview with ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] said a lot of money was pledged at the conference. He said his government is working out measures which will give priority to agriculture, education, health, and housing (?from) the pledged money.



## Burkina Faso

### 'Compaore Critics' Boycott Drafting Constitution

AB2806181990 London BBC World Service  
in English 0730 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Well lastly today, will there be a constitution in Burkina Faso? If so, it would be the first for the country in over 10 years. They are working on it at the moment, but it is not going to be an easy process. The people involved in the Constitutional Commission were hand-picked by President Blaise Compaore from inside and outside the government. But one group of Compaore critics boycotted the drafting of the constitution on the grounds that the commission had been undemocratically chosen. Well, the commission is now in recess until July 10. On the latest developments, here is Alice Mboya in Ouagadougou:

[Begin Mboya recording] This constitution creating exercise is shedding light to an extent on the strengths and weaknesses of the Popular Front itself. For Compaore, a certain amount of strength has in the past derived from the simple fact that no one has ever been exactly sure whose interests this popular front actually represents.

In the spirit of so-called democratic openness, political groups are periodically admitted to the ranks of the Front. What is overlooked is that, in order to exist, they really have no other choice.

Members of political groups on the constitutional committee have a similar uneasy feeling, but they have no choice but to create a constitution tailor-made to the needs of those at the very top. There seems to be a distinct lack of a common political goal of the sort needed as a basis for constitutional democracy here.

While other African political leaders are making radical choices, Compaore has stated that he considers neither multipartyism nor the one-party state the answer. Burkina's Popular Front continues to grow indefinitely by co-opting its critics.

There has been talk of some kind of elections coming out of this constitution. The president of the Popular Front, Blaise Compaore, is not eager to be any more specific on the matter just yet. People are saying that if free and fair elections were to be held, Compaore, who lacks legitimate political support of his own, would stand the most to lose. [end recording]

## Ghana

### Joint Commission Meeting With Libya Ends

AB2206210490 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1300 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] The fourth session of the Ghana-Libya Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation has ended in Accra with a renewal of commitment by both sides to overcome obstacles hampering the achievement of the goals

of the commission. Augustina Apike witnessed the signing of the communique:

[Apike] Ghana and Libya having agreed that not much has been achieved since the last meeting, expressed their resolve and determination to build on the revolutionary and brotherly ties between them. The delegates discussed the possibility of joint investments, consular matters with regard to the movement of persons and extradition and exchange of prisoners, transport and communications, health, and industry. Trade was, however, identified as a vital area for cooperation, and decisions on how to promote and expand it were reached. These include encouraging and forging direct contacts between private business groups of the two countries, and educating them on the opportunities open to them and taking the necessary administrative and political measures to facilitate the free movement of persons, goods and services. The secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah, who signed for Ghana, stressed the importance of joint cooperation, especially that of Ghana and Libya.

[Begin Asamoah recording] (?Joint) Commissions are the vehicles by which economic cooperation is fostered, they are also an expression of the political commitment to the successful persecution of the African revolution, a revolution whose aim is to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism; to rescue Africa from economic exploitation, degradation, and deprivation; and to assert our rights to equal dignity with the rest of mankind. The Libyan and Ghanaian revolutions are intended to achieve these ends. It is in the supreme interest of Africa to reinforce mutual support for our respective revolutions, whatever our detractors may think of them. We must appreciate, however, that it is only by seriously overcoming the obstacles to trade and economic cooperation that we will be fulfilling the aspirations of our peoples and of Africa at large. [end recording]

The leader of the Libyan delegation, Brother Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, secretary for the People's Committee for Foreign Liaison Bureau and International Cooperation, signed for his country. He commended the delegates on the seriousness with which they tackled issues, and hoped with political will and determination much can be achieved.

### PRC Justice Ministry Delegation Arrives

AB2806154690 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] The visiting five-member judicial delegation from China today paid a courtesy call on the acting secretary for justice and attorney general, Mr. E.G. Tanoh, in Accra. The delegation led by Mr. Guo Dezhi, vice minister of justice, is visiting Ghana to exchange ideas on the judiciary with their Ghanaian counterparts.

Mr. Tanoh briefed the Chinese on the Ghanaian legal system which, he said, is a marriage of the customary and British legal systems. Mr. Guo in turn briefed Mr.

Tanoh on the Chinese legal system and said the two countries have a lot in common because of their colonial past.

While in the country, the delegation will hold talks with Mr. Justice P. F. Annan, PNDC member, and also meet the chief justice, Mr. Justice E.N.P. Sowah.

### **Ivory Coast**

#### **Houphouet-Boigny Receives Beninese Premier**

*AB2706212090 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
0700 GMT 23 Jun 90*

[Text] On his way to the United States where he will make his first official visit since he was appointed head of the Beninese Transitional Government, Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo yesterday met the head of state. He told the press that, during his technical stopover here, he made it a point to pay a courtesy call on the dean of African heads of states, for whom he has the utmost respect, to ask for advice and brief him on what his government is doing in Benin. Asked about the management of African economies to which the World Bank president recently alluded, Mr. Soglo said that two factors were at the root of the crisis experienced by African economies.

[Begin recording] [Soglo] Prior to the meeting of the Development Committee, the World Bank president spoke of the need for us to manage our economies better. This is a real fact. Two factors are at the root of the current economic crisis in Africa. First, there are internal factors brought about by poor economic management and planning. We may even say that concerning major orientations, there are real weaknesses. This must be acknowledged objectively. There are also external causes which are known. They concern, on the one hand, the prices of raw materials, the key issue, and on the other hand, real interest rates and the debt burden. All these factors have played a role in the situation we are now experiencing. Thus we must correct our shortcomings as far as planning is concerned. Because, in this ruthless world, each one of us must be able to defend his own interests. The developed countries need raw materials and the developing ones need technology and know-how. Thus, we must sit down and talk. This was the World Bank president's statement which is close to the analysis we made in the first bank report on the crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. [end recording]

### **Liberia**

#### **EEC To Fund Medecins Sans Frontieres Plan**

*AB2706094890 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
0709 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Medecins Sans Frontieres, a humanitarian organization based in Belgium, has announced the launching

of an operation plan funded by the European Community to intensify assistance to victims of the armed conflict in Liberia. A release issued yesterday by the organization said four medical mobile teams, each consisting of one medical doctor and a nurse, will provide free health care to all displaced persons wherever they can reach in Lofa, Grand Cape Mount, and Boma Counties.

The release said one of the medical teams will be responsible for medical supervision at various reception centers in Monrovia and at the organization's health clinic at the John F. Kennedy Medical Center. It also said since the reception centers are mostly church compounds, a general technical assistance will be provided through the setting up of a technical coordinating committee under the auspices of the Liberia Council of Churches and the National Disaster Relief Commission. Further arrangements, according to the release, are being made for the setting up of an emergency surgical unit for combat victims at the Catholic Hospital to be a part of the contingency plan for the Monrovia hospitals among others.

#### **Businesses Closed; Air Guinea Suspendes Flights**

*AB2806164490 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT  
28 Jun 90*

[Text] Monrovia, June 28 (AFP)—Stores, supermarkets and commercial banks were closed in the Liberian capital Thursday, a day after government soldiers opened fire to disperse demonstrators calling on President Samuel Doe to resign.

The National Bank, Liberia's central bank, opened to allow civil servants to cash their pay checks, but other banks, which had opened in the morning rapidly closed for what some sources called "fear of harassment".

Army patrols were visible on the streets of the rebel-threatened city, but many government ministries and agencies were almost empty since workers had decided to stay at home.

In Abidjan meanwhile, aviation officials said that Air Guinea had suspended flights to Monrovia because safety was no longer assured and the airline's insurance company had lifted its cover.

Air Guinea had been the only airline to maintain services to Liberia after rebels of the National Patriotic Front (NPLF) led by former top civil servant Charles Taylor surrounded the main airport outside the capital.

For the first time Wednesday, troops opened fire to break up a march, the second mass protest in two days, but there were no reports of serious injuries. Sporadic shooting was heard throughout the night, though Defense Ministry officials had ordered troops to cease fire.

News stands were empty Thursday as local newspapers were unable to publish after the shooting, which rocked the entire city, sending demonstrators and residents fleeing helter-skelter.

A journalist driving round saw a few stores with their doors halfway open, but markets were empty and people wanting to buy food could not find anything. The atmosphere was still very tense.

Liberian religious organizations and opposition groups have organized several peace rallies, calling for an end to a civil war that has left at least 1,000 dead, mostly civilians, and turned thousands out of their homes since the NPLF in December launched its bid to overthrow Mr. Doe.

Sierra Leone, one of the neighboring countries hosting many Liberian refugees, is also hosting peace talks between government officials and the NPLF under church auspices, but the NPLF boycotted the latest round due to have started on Monday, saying there was nothing to talk about until Mr. Doe offered his resignation.

The president, who took power in a bloody military coup in 1980, has said he will not stand in general elections next year, but that is not enough for the rebels, for tens of thousands of Monrovia demonstrators and, according to some reports, for several other West African leaders concerned about the impact of the war on their own fragile economies.

(The Sierra Leonean secretary-general of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) arrived in Freetown on Wednesday with a four-man delegation "to lay groundwork" for mediation, as he put it.

(Abass Bundu told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that he had met Mr. Doe earlier Wednesday and that the latter had agreed to an ECOWAS plan to have several leaders of member states mediate in the conflict.)

### **Workers, Professors Evacuate Fendell Campus**

*AB2806174990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] Support staff and professors of the University of Liberia [UL] residing at the UL's Fendell Campus outside Monrovia have reportedly been evacuated from that area. A UL professor is quoted by yesterday's edition of the OBSERVER newspaper as saying the professors and other employees have been evacuated from the campus following a call the UL administration received from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

The unnamed professor, who released the information to the press on issues pertaining to the UL, said the Patriotic Front used the UL Fendell campus radio to inform them to leave the premises because the front wanted to take residence there. The OBSERVER report

said shortly before the call was received, there had been shootings in the Fendell area by some unknown individuals.

### **Doe Receives ECOWAS Delegation on Crisis**

*AB2806180690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[Text] The Economic Community of West African States has expressed concern over the Liberia crisis and hopes that the crisis will soon come to a peaceful conclusion. The statement was made by Dr. Abass Bundu, who headed a four-man special delegation which called on President Doe yesterday at the Executive Mansion.

The ECOWAS executive secretary general said any instability in a member state is a threat to the subregion. President Doe welcomed the delegation to Liberia and said his government was open to every effort geared towards restoring peace in Liberia.

### **Jawara Peace Move; Rebel Duopu Said Executed**

*AB2806200990 London BBC World Service  
in English 1709 GMT 28 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] President Doe of Liberia is under massive pressure now to quit so that the civil war against Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front rebels can be brought to an end. There has been a series of demonstrations in the streets of Monrovia, and even Samuel Doe's old friends in the OAU and the West African grouping ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] seem to be getting together to persuade Doe to go. And spearheading it seems to be The Gambia's President Sir Dawda Jawara. From the The Gambia, Babacar Gueye telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to official sources here, President Jawara is now expected in The Gambia tomorrow to begin efforts to end the civil war in Liberia. The rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia has demanded the resignation of President Samuel Doe as a condition for talking peace.

President Jawara and three other West African leaders have already called on President Doe to go, to no avail. President Jawara has cut short a trip that would have taken him to the OAU summit and to Mecca in order to coordinate the peace efforts. He will be acting in his dual capacity as chairman of both ECOWAS and the organization's mediation committee set up during its last summit in Banjul.

It is not yet clear whether President Jawara will be actively involved in leading a peace mission to either Sierra Leone or Liberia. The president's return may have been prompted by the visit to The Gambia over the weekend by Sierra Leone's foreign minister. [end recording]



Meanwhile, there are some indications that it has not been all sweetness and light in the upper echelons of Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front. There have been sketchy reports of power struggles, and recently, a veteran opposition figure, Moses Duopu, told us that he was the secretary general of the Papatriotic Front, and that he was going back to the rebel-held areas of Liberia to establish his position.

Now, his son, Emmanuel, claimed that Moses Duopu is dead. Robin White asked him what information he had:

[Begin recording] [Emmanuel Duopu] Well, the actual information is: My father went to see Charles Taylor. He had met with Charles Taylor and then he was detained by Charles Taylor and later he was ordered to be executed by Charles Taylor.

[White] And where did this happen?

[Duopu] In Wople, in Nimba county.

[White] And how did you get this information?

[Duopu] Well, I have contact with close relatives up there in Danane. They gave the information.

[White] Why should he have been executed?

[Duopu] Well, I mean actually, I do not really know, but if it is true, then it is really... [changes thought] Taylor has proven ungratefulness, he has reached the high peak of proven ungratefulness. And I do not want to believe that kind of man can rule Liberia, you see.

[White] Could it be because your father was claiming to be a leading member of the Patriotic Front?

[Duopu] Well, to be frank with you, my father is the secretary general of the National Patriotic Front. And now, it was my father that introduced Taylor to the members of the National Patriotic Front. Those boys are fighting today... [changes thoughts] it is my father that introduced Taylor to them.

[White] But, was your father disputing the leadership of the patriotic front with Charles Taylor?

[Duopu] No, he was not.

[White] He was happy to accept Charles Taylor's leadership?

[Duopu] He was happy to have accepted Charles Taylor to work with him.

[White] But, if he was imprisoned or even executed, he must have had said something to offend Charles Taylor?

[Duopu] Well, I do not want to believe that my father will say anything to offend Charles.

[White] Perhaps, if they were close friends as you claim, perhaps, the rumors you have heard is not true.

[Duopu] Well, when I got the news, I really do not want to believe it. But now, looking at the information reaching me, some close relatives, people that I really cannot believe to lie to me. Therefore, I really have to believe it. [end recording]

## Mali

### Abidjan Daily Interviews President Traore

AB2306152490 Abidjan VOIX D'AFRIQUE in French  
10 Jun 90 pp 10-11

["Exclusive" interview with President Moussa Traore by Mam Less Dia in Koulouba Palace "in the beginning of May"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Dia] Mr. President, your country has made remarkable progress in the field of freedom of the press. I have read particularly severe critiques of your regime in the local independent press. Would you be prepared to play the game fully?

[Traore] Absolutely. I have already stated publicly that we have to call on the people to speak. If we do not call on the people to speak now, they will speak one day or another. The independent press that you are speaking about is entirely free to criticize our mistakes and denounce abuses. There is no pressure whatsoever from the government which sometimes takes these criticisms into account to correct certain injustices. I see no reason why I should not play the game fully or why I should not respect the freedom of journalists. All that I would ask of them is to abide by the ethics of their profession. In order to do so, they must have the moral obligation to report only the events that are true.

[Dia] Are the new guarantees for freedom of the press a decisive step toward democratic openness in your country?

[Traore] Before answering this question, I would like us to agree on the concept of democracy. About what kind of democracy are you speaking?

[Dia] In my viewpoint, it is liberal, multiparty democracy.

[Traore] On my part, and in perfect agreement with all the leaders and militants of the Democratic Party of Malian people, multiparty democracy is not the most elaborate form of democracy. Moreover, we are convinced that this form of democracy is not suitable for our national realities. Our people have already experienced multipartyism, still a painful memory. Several Malian families, divided by political partisan struggles, are still waiting for the wounds to heal. I know my people and the importance they give to the unity of the family cell. That is why I feel free to say that they are in no way tempted by any adventure into multiparty politics. If we take traditional values into account in the Malian context, democratic expression and the practice of democracy have never been absent from the social organization within the group, the village collectivity, and the family cell. The principle of consensus after debate has always presided over the definition of a collective line of conduct or the adoption of a common position regarding burning problems, whatever their nature. I have nothing against my brothers who have chosen the multiparty



system, but I think that Africans should think about appropriate solutions in order to destroy the label of a consumer of civilization that has been pasted on their foreheads.

[Dia] But you do not seem to take into account the blackmail by the liberal West that links financial aid to the practice of multiparty politics. Have you the means to resist pressure from the West and international high finance circles?

[Traore] So far, the Malian Government has not undergone any pressure in this regard. Our situation of being a poor and landlocked country would certainly not permit us to put up any significant resistance to any future economic pressure from the West. However, we know that the West is famous for defending its own values, one of the most sacred of which is the defense of the popular will. I would be willing, if necessary, to organize a referendum on the issue of multiparty democracy, with all the guarantees of openness expected. I have no doubt that the overwhelming majority of Malians would vote in favor of the single party. I wonder, however, if the will of the Malian people, expressed in this way, would be respected by others.

#### **Traore Returns From Japan, Francophone Summit**

*AB2806151090 Bamako Domestic Service in French  
1500 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] The head of state returned to Bamako yesterday afternoon from La Baule, France, where he took part in the 16th summit of French and African heads of state. Earlier, the president paid a friendly working visit to Japan. This visit made possible the strengthening of relations between Bamako and Tokyo.

In Japan, General Moussa Traore held talks with His Majesty the emperor of Japan, Akihito, and the prime minister. The discussions centered on our country's economic and financial restructuring and the Senegal River Development Organization [OMVS]. Gen.

Moussa Traore said one of the most important issues raised during his visit to Japan was the fight against drought and desert encroachment.

After Japan, the head of state took part in the 16th conference of the French and African heads of state in La Baule. Several issues were discussed, notably debt, prices of raw materials, development, and democratization of institutions. Gen. Moussa Traore spoke to Mali Actualite [name of radio program] yesterday at Bamako-Senou:

[Begin Traore recording] We said the debt question must be linked to development. Development and prices of raw materials cannot be dissociated. That is why this issue was put on the agenda. It was stressed that the solution to the fluctuating prices of raw materials resides in the integration of the economies of African countries and that the intervention of industrialized countries should occur at a secondary level.

We discussed democratization of institutions and came to the conclusion that there can be no development without the democratization of institutions. On this issue, there was, I cannot say a divergence of views, but rather a report by every participant on his experience in democratization of institutions in both the economic and political fields. We concluded that in order to achieve development, economic institutions must be democratized. There cannot be development without democratization, just as democratization promotes development.

The issue of democratization in the absence of a multiparty system was also thoroughly discussed, and we agreed that the democratization of institutions is a good thing but that, of course, it is not by democratizing political institutions that the coffers of a state can be filled. That is certain. But it is also certain that in order to let the people have peace of mind, they must be led democratically in conformity with history, tradition, and culture. We agreed that democratization must be done in conformity with the culture of every people. [end recording]

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